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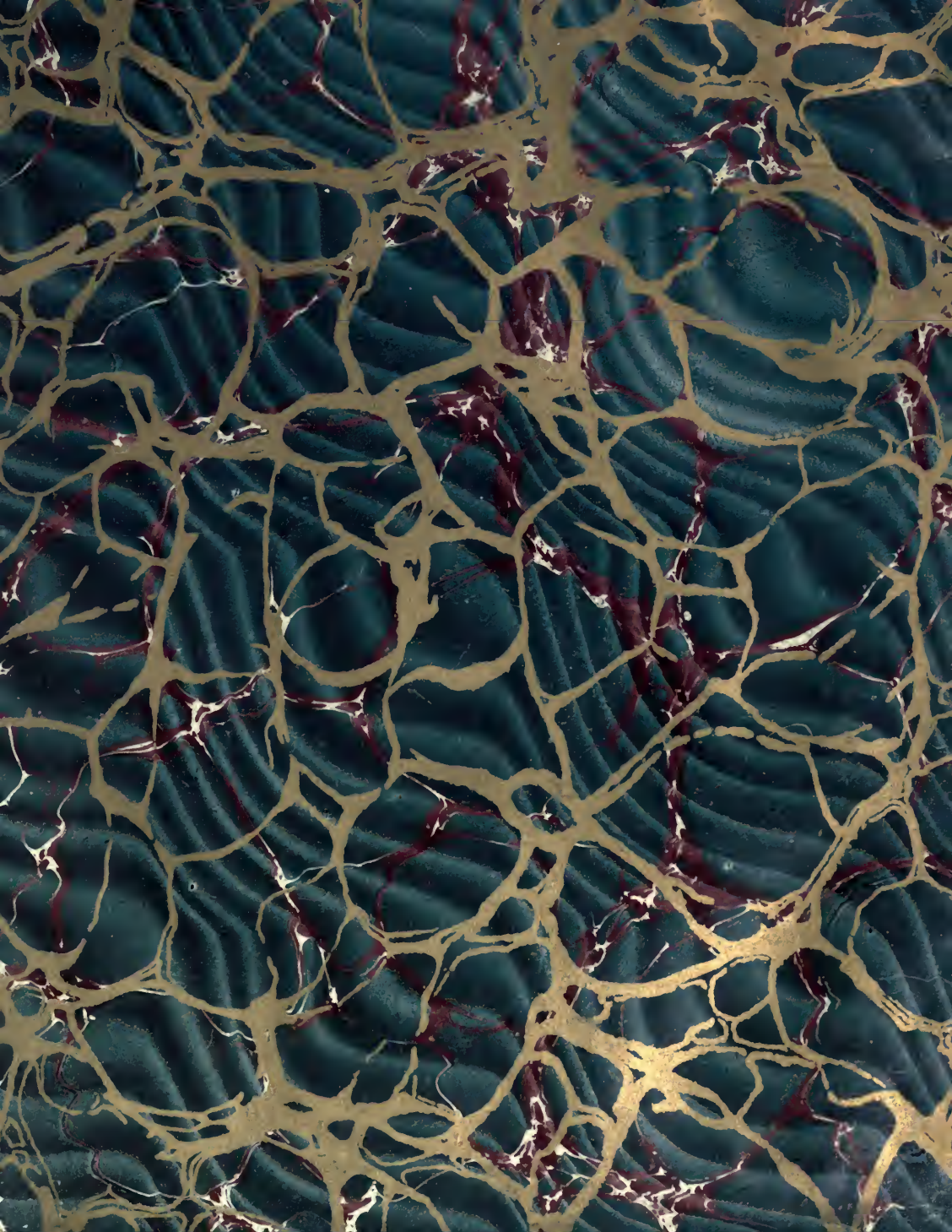

CASTLE HACKET

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# GLEANINGS IN FAMILY HISTORY FROM THE ANTRIM COAST.*

(*Continued from* Vol. 8, p. 210.)

## THE EARL OF MACARTNEY.

A LITTLE way to the left of the road leading from Cloughmills to Armoy, and nearly at an equal distance from those villages, stands the old castle of Lissanoure. This structure, with its ancient lake, and its surrounding groves of larch, constitutes the only attractive feature to a stranger's eye

* Since the publication of the Paper entitled "The Macaulays and Macartneys," the writer has ascertained that there is an original portrait of Alexander Macaulay, K.C., who died in 1766, in the possession of Robt. Givin, Esq., Coleraine. This gentleman, who is connected by blood with some of the leading families on the Antrim coast, has made a curious and interesting collection of pictures, containing original portraits of members of the families of Stewart, of Ballintoy; Boyd, of Ballycastle; Macaulay, of Cushindall, and Reid, of Drumnagessan, the last-mentioned, once well known as a large landed proprietor in the Route. The Reids, in common with most other leading famlies on the coast, were of Scottish descent, and came early in the seventeenth century to this country. We learn from the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (published by the Bannatyne Club), vol. ii., Part I., page 25, that "in the year 1498, King James IV. granted to his servitor, Adam Rede, of Sterquhite, the fortalice of Ardcardane, and 100 shilling lands of old extent beside it, with the sixteen marklands of old extent of Glencardane, adjacent to the former, in the lordship of North Kintyre, for payment of the usual dues, and for finding and maintaining six bowmen to serve the King in his wars with the Islesmen, the said Adam being bound to remain in the castle during these wars after the expiration of the terms, during which the castle and lands might be held by Matthew, Earl of Lennox, or others. In 1500, the same King granted to the same Adam Rede, for the same service as in 1498, the four marklands of old-extent of Ardkerdene, with the fortalice of the same, and the twenty marklands of old extent of Glencardane, Auchinsaull, Rarydock, Auchinbrek, Keironasche, Auchinreauch, Carrymakkonnan, and Cardoll, lying near the four marklands of Arkardine, forfeited to the King by John of the Isles. In 1515 and 1558, these lands, with 30 marks in the island of *Rauchre* (Rathlin), were included in the barony of Bar, in North Kintyre. In 1564, Queen Mary granted to James McConeill (MacDonnell), of Dunnyvaig and Glennis, 24 marklands corresponding to the grants of 1498 and 1500, in the Queen's hands since the decease of John M'Coneill, Donald Baldochsone, Adam Rede, or other lawful possessor. In 1605. Margaret and Janet, daughters of Adam Rede, of Barskymming, and Hugh Wallace, of Auchenveill, and John Spottiswoode, of Foular, his grandsons, by the mother's side, were served his heirs in the same lands in Kintyre and the isle of *Rauchric*."

The mother of Alexander Macaulay above mentioned was Mildred, daughter of the Rev. Adam Reid, and with her the family estate of *Drumnagessan*, near Bushmills, passed to her husband. The Irish branch of this family (Reid) is now extinct.

Alexander Macaulay, her son, was an intimate and highly valued friend of Dean Swift. Mrs. Whiteway, when writing in Swift's name to Pope (1739), states that Mr. Macaulay was about to visit London, and begs to introduce him to the great poet as an especial friend. "The character," says she, which the Dean hath ordered me to give you of Counsellor Macaulay is this: That he is a man of religion, without enthusiasm or hypocrisy: of excellent understanding, learning, taste, and probity; a just defender of other men's properties, and the liberty of his prince and country; a most dutiful son, a faithful friend, a tender husband, father, and master." The Dean left to Mr. Macaulay "the gold box in which the freedom of Dublin had been presented to him,' "as a testimony," to use his own words, "of the esteem and love I have for him, on account of his great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety and benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence of the legal rights of the clergy in opposition to all their unprovoked oppression."

in that district, perhaps one of the least interesting in the pleasant county of Antrim. The lake is the remnant of the older and much larger Lough Guile, which, at an early period, gave its name to the surrounding country. In the 'days of other years,' the O'Haras[a] hunted the deer on its shores, and launched their pleasure canoes on its tranquil bosom. Time is a mighty wizard! The ancient woods have been fashioned, it is said, into those vast sweeps of bog which now almost enclose Lissanoure; the Lough has dwindled down into a small crescent-shaped lake which, in its turn, is also embosomed in trees, as appropriate and pleasant, perhaps, although not so grand as those reflected in its waters long ago.

Lough Guile, at an early period, was known as constituting an important division of that district which lay between the Glyns of Antrim and the river Bann, named *Twescard*, or more correctly *Tuaisceart*, 'the North.' It contained a fortified residence situated on the side of the Lough, built, no doubt, originally by the O'Haras, and afterwards made available by succeeding owners. In the thirteenth century it was held by Alanus de Galweia, having been first granted to him in 1210. His family probably retained possession until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when we find *Loghkell* and the surrounding districts owned by Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, and after him, by William de Burgo. At the commencement of the fifteenth century (1418), the whole territory formed a part of MacUidhelin's (MacQuillin's) country, and a century later (1515), Fitzhowlyn, another form of the name MacQuillin, is described in the State Papers as Lord of *Tuscard*.[b] The Macdonnells expelled the MacQuillins about the year 1555, and in 1584, 'Loughgyll' was one of the four *tuaghs* or districts granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sorley Boy. The Macartneys did not make their appearance there until the beginning of the seventeenth century, but under what circumstances they acquired possession of the Lissanoure property we have not been able to discover.

The family of Macartney has occupied a respectable position for a long period, both in this country and in Scotland, but it has produced *one man* who confers especial honour upon it. This man was the late Earl of Macartney—and yonder lonely old House of Lissanoure, now showing such visible traces of desertion and neglect, had the honour of being his birth-place. Like many other really great men, he loved his native fields, and at times, when relieved from the immediate pressure of public duties and cares, hither he came, not as a mere matter of routine, but for the delight indescribable which the fact of feeling really at home never failed in his case to inspire. What a contrast with him between London and Lissanoure! He, to whom the pomp and magnificence of the great capitals of Europe and Asia were matters of every-day life, deeply and unaffectedly enjoyed the simplest pleasures of a remote country district. He pruned and planted trees, and drained bogs, and built cottages for his poor tenants, with as much practical economy, and yet brotherly kindness, as if he were entirely dependent on the returns in money and gratitude which

[a] Now represented by H. H. H. O'Hara, Esq., of Craigbilly.

[b] See Reeves's Eccl. Antiq., pp. 71, 72.

these works would naturally produce. When here, and able to be out of doors, he spent all his time in the fields, or on the heaths, that, in Autumn, bloomed so charmingly around.

"He felt the gales that from them blow
A momentary bliss bestow,
As waving fresh, on gladsome wing,
His very soul they seem'd to sooth,
And, redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring."

The only authentic account which we have of the Macartney family has been supplied from his lordship's papers. From these he gathered with his own hand a genealogical statement, which lay in manuscript, at Lissanoure Castle, and was afterwards numbered 299 at the book-sale that took place at the time of the general auction there, since his death. This manuscript has been copied almost *verbatim* by Lodge, in his *Peerage of Ireland*, and afterwards published in an abridged form by Sir Bernard Burke, in his *Peerage and Baronetcy of the British Empire*. Its opening statement is perhaps the only one which we should feel inclined to dispute. It represents the founder of the family to have been one Daniel or Donough *MacCarthy*, supposed to be a younger branch of the MacCarthy More, who went to Scotland at the commencement of the fourteenth century, to assist Robert Bruce in his struggle for the independence of that kingdom. We agree as to the *Irish* origin of the family, but doubt very much whether we should look so far south as Cork for its founder. The idea of identifying the Macartneys with the MacCarthys is not supported, so far as we know, by any genealogical facts, but has arisen from the apparent similarity of their names. There is no more fallacious standard of appeal than this; for, had a MacCarthy been the actual founder of the family in Scotland, the probability is that his descendants would have taken his Christian name as their surname, and been called *MacDonoughs* or *MacDaniels*, and not MacCarthys at all. The similarity of the armorial bearings of the two families, mentioned in a note by Lodge, and suggested, no doubt, by the remark to the same effect in the MS. already referred to, can hardly be admitted as an argument, as it very probably arose also from the fancied similarity of the names. When the Macartneys first began to look about for armorial bearings, they may have adopted those of the Macarthys for the reason now stated; or *vice versa*.

We should be more disposed to conclude that the Scottish Macartneys were descended from some Art, or Arthur O'Neill, who removed to North Britain during the great Dalriadic emigration, which commenced at the close of the third, and continued till the beginning of the sixth century. Indeed, that remarkable movement was mainly indebted for its ultimate success to the efforts of the Northern Hy-Niall, or O'Neills, and it no doubt included many families of this race, whose descendants would afterwards be called, by way of distinction, in Scotland, as here, after the Christian names of the respective founders. We find that many of the leading colonists located themselves

in the region now known as Argyleshire, whose glens seem to have had greater attractions for the Antrim Dalriadans than any of the other territories subjugated by them at that early period. The traditions preserved in the Macartney family point to Argyleshire as their *original* place of settlement in North Britain. On being dislodged from thence by circumstances, the nature of which is not specified, they removed into Galloway, and settled on lands around the source of the stream known as the Water of Orr. On these lands, which even now bear the family name of Macartney, the ruins of their principal house or castle still exist. Another move, and we meet with them in Kirkcudbright, where the family had increased into several branches, occupying the whole barony of Cross-Michael, which they held, from the old College of Lincluden, until the Reformation introduced new arrangements respecting the lands belonging to religious houses. There is a small estate called *Auchinleck*, in the parish of Dundrenan, near the town of Kirkcudbright, where dwelt one George Macartney at the commencement of the sixteenth century. In the year 1522, this gentleman married Magaret MacCulloch, the daughter of a neighbouring laird. Their eldest son, Bartholomew, in the year 1587, married Mary Stewart, the only daughter of a gentleman dwelling on the borders of Auchinleck. Their eldest son, also named Bartholomew, married Catherine, daughter of George Maxwell, of Orchard-Town, and had by her one son, George, who was born in the year 1626.

The last-named gentleman came to Ireland when very young, and was the founder of several families of the Macartneys in Ulster, and throughout Ireland. He seems to have got possession of the Lissanoure property about the year 1649. It was then of little value, and had no residence upon it for the accommodation of a respectable family. While the present castle was being built, (which is now abandoned for a small, but more commodious house erected near it,) Mr. Macartney resided in the vicinity of Belfast. He continued to dwell at the latter place during the greater part of every year, throughout his life. In his will, he directed that he should be buried in Belfast, and that its poor should receive certain benefits at his death. He lived through stirring and eventful years in this country's history, but was very prosperous in his career. He held the appointment of Surveyor-General for the province of Ulster, which was not only lucrative, but highly influential. In 1688, as captain of his troop, he proclaimed King William and Queen Mary at Belfast, but for this act he and several other gentlemen of the County of Antrim were attainted by King James's Parliament, held at Dublin in the following year. They were all restored, however, on the settlement of the kingdom, and Captain Macartney died soon afterwards, in the year 1691. All the gentlemen constituting what was known as the *Antrim Association* were, by this tyrannical Act, declared traitors, deprived of their estates, and adjudged worthy to suffer the pains of death. This terrible sentence was not long permitted to hang over them, although it had the effect of hunting many of them into concealment or exile, for a time. The names of a few of the leading members of this association were:—Popham Conway, Lisburn; Clotworthy Skeffington, Antrim;

Robert Adair, Ballymena; Arthur Upton, Templepatrick; Charles Stewart, Ballintoy; Hugh MacNeill, Clare, near Ballycastle; Richard Dobbs, Ballynure; William Shaw, Gemeway; Andrew and William Rowan, Oldstone; William Shaw, Bush; Patrick Shaw, Ballygelly; Sir William Franklin, Belfast; Arthur Macartney, Belfast; Lord Donegal, &c., &c.

Captain Macartney had been twice married, and left two families. His first wife was Jane, daughter of St. Quintin Calderwood, of Belfast, but of a Scotch family. Her children and descendants settled at Belfast and in Dublin, many of them occupying influential positions at the Bar and in the Army. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Butler, of Hales, in the county of Lancaster. By her he left two sons, Chichester and George. The former died young; the latter, who was born in 1671, resided constantly at Lissanoure, serving as Deputy-Governor, and occasionally as High Sheriff for the County of Antrim. At the time of his death, in 1757, he was the oldest member of the Irish Parliament, having occupied a seat in that assembly during the lengthened period of fifty-five years. In the year 1700, he married Letitia, daughter of Sir Charles Porter, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. By her he had three sons, the eldest and youngest of whom died young. The second son, George, married in 1732, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. John Winder, Prebendary of Kilroot, and Rector of Carnmoney. His wife died in 1755, and he followed in 1781, leaving a son, George, the subject of our present sketch, and two daughters, Letitia and Elizabeth.

Before proceeding to notice some of the leading points in the history of this son, who became so celebrated, we must say a few words respecting his mother's family. This is the more required, as neither Lodge, Burke, nor even the Lissanoure MS., has more than a passing reference to the name and profession of her father. We have the following brief reference to this gentleman in a letter from William Sacheverell, Governor of the Isle of Man, who visited Belfast in the year 1688, and forwarded his impression of our good town to one of his friends:—"The quantities of butter and beef which it (Belfast) sends into foreign parts are almost incredible. The new pottery is a pretty curiosity, set up by Mr. Smith, the present Sovereign, and his predecessor, Captain Seathes, a man of great ingenuity. The bishop of the diocese was then in town on his visitation, his name Dr. Warkenton, [Walkington,] famous for his skill in the mathematics. Mr. *Winder*, the minister of Belfast, and chancellor of the diocese, is an excellent preacher as most I have heard."

Mr. Winder was the immediate successor of Dean Swift, in Kilroot, and kept up an occasional correspondence with him after the removal of the latter to Dublin. One of Swift's letters to Winder refers, among other matters, to certain books he had left behind him at Kilroot, and contains the following passage, which is quite characteristic of the writer:—"I desired of you two or three times, that when you had sent me a catalogue of those few books, you would not send them to Dublin till you had heard again from me: the reason was, that I did believe there was one or two of them that might have been useful to you, and one or two more not worth the carriage: Of the latter sort were an old musty Horace and Foley's book: Of the former were Reynolds' Works, Collection of

Sermons, in 4to, Stillingfleet's Grounds, &c., and the folio paper book, very good for Sermons, or a receipt Book for your wife, or to keep accounts for mutton, raisins, &c. The *Sceptis Scientifica* is not mine, but old Mr. Dobbs's, and I wish it were restored: He has Temple's *Miscellanea* instead of it, which is a good book, worth your reading. If *Sceptis Scientifica* comes to me, I'll burn it for a fustian piece of abominable curious virtuoso stuff. I hope this will come to your hand before you have sent your cargo, that you may keep those books I mentioned: and desire you will write my name, and *Ex dono* before them in large letters."

The Rev. John Winder came to Ireland as a chaplain to King William III. He was married soon after his coming, to Jane Done (or Doane), daughter of Major Done, of Cromwell's army, and Letitia Lyndon, daughter of Roger Lyndon, Esq., of Carrickfergus.[c] Jane Doane, whose daughter, Elizabeth Winder, became the mother of George Macartney, was a lineal descendant of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and his wife, Rose O'Neill, the third daughter of Hugh O'Neill, the last and great Earl of Tyrone. Sir Cahir left three daughters, the eldest of whom married Sir William Brownlow, of Lurgan; the second became the wife of Colonel Cormac O'Neill, of Broughshane; and the youngest, Rose, married Captain Roger Lyndon, of Carrickfergus,—whose son, Roger, married Jane Martin, the daughter of John Martin, by Letitia Caulfield, sister to the first Lord Charlemont. Roger Lyndon's daughter Letitia, was, as already stated, mother of Jane Doane who was married to the Rev. John Winder, and whose daughter Elizabeth became the mother of Lord Macartney. He was thus maternally descended from the two great Irish chieftains, Hugh O'Neill and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty.[d]

George Macartney was born at Lissanoure, on the 14th day of May, 1737. It is much to be regretted that almost nothing is known respecting the boyish days of great men. If 'the child be father to the man,' what a lamentable amount of artless greatness has thus been lost to us for ever! How much of the 'wit' in men, which has delighted the world, would have been rendered still more delightful by illustrations from the 'simplicity' of the children! As it is, we hear nothing of our great men during one of the most interesting periods of their lives,—the season of youth, when they are supposed to be collecting and laying up treasures of knowledge for future use. All

[c] Roger Lyndon was Mayor of Carrickfergus in 1613. He neglected, or perhaps refused, to burn a copy of the Scottish *Solemn League and Covenant*, as ordered by the Government, and for this omission was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where, on his knees, he was obliged to enter into security that he would faithfully superintend the burning of the obnoxious covenant! The estate of the Lyndons of Carrickfergus was sold in 1807, to the Marquis of Downshire, for the sum of £17,000. See MacSkimmin's *History of Carrickfergus*.

[d] Besides Mrs. Macartney of Lissanoure, the Rev. John Winder and Jane Doane left two sons. The eldest, the Rev. Edward Winder, became rector of Carnmoney, and married Jane, daughter of the Rev. William Merryfield. The second, the Rev. Peter Winder, became rector of Bangor, County of Down. His only daughter, Anne, married the Rev. Hugh Caldwell, vicar of Newtownards, County of Down, and had two sons, Dr. George Macartney Caldwell, R.N., lost at sea in H.M.S. Arab, 1824, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hercules Rowley Caldwell, who died at Gibraltar, 1824, also lineally descended from O'Neill and O'Dogherty.

that we have to say of Macartney's youth may be soon told. He was so well instructed by a clergyman named Dennis, that at the age of *thirteen* he was supposed to be prepared to enter college, and was, accordingly, admitted a fellow commoner of Trinity, in the University of Dublin. He did not forget his teacher in after life; on the contrary, he procured for Mr. Dennis two comfortable livings in the Church, as an acknowledgment of that gentleman's trouble, and of the profit which his youthful pupil afterwards derived from being obliged (by want of more congenial books), while under his care, to take to the perusal of certain curious old tracts on chronology. The study of these tracts probably had some influence in changing his original design as to the choice of a profession, for it was his first intention to become a physician; at all events, the dates and other facts thus gleaned up were of great service to him in the path which he afterwards trod with such distinction.

On obtaining his degree of M.A., in 1759, Mr. Macartney determined to spend a short time in travel, and truly he began his journeyings under the influence of some lucky star. He had not travelled long or far, when he accidentally met Mr. Stephen Fox, the eldest son of Lord Holland, and brother of the renowned orator, Charles James Fox. For this young man, Macartney had an opportunity of performing some signal act of friendship, the precise nature of which we have not heard, farther than that it was such as to secure the deep and lasting gratitude of Lord Holland. On his return to England, he received much attention from the family of that nobleman, and through him became known to other very influential people. Macartney's personal qualities were such as strongly to recommend him to their good graces. He saw at a glance the advantages that might be derived from this introduction; he felt as if so manifest a 'tide' in his affairs ought to be 'taken at the flood,' and committing himself to its guidance, he was floated triumphantly forward to almost fabulous distinction. From that moment he abandoned the idea of devoting himself to the medical profession, and, 'throwing physic to the dogs,' entered on a course of political training, under the auspices of his new friends. He soon proved himself a very apt learner; and when, by the joint influences of Lords Holland and Sandwich, he was brought into Parliament for the borough of Midhurst, his patrons had reason to be proud of their young friend. It so happened that, just at this time, the affairs of Russia had assumed a rather interesting aspect for Europe in general, and for England in particular. Statesmen were puzzled by the spectacle presented in the North. Russia had hitherto hardly been permitted, by the public opinion of Europe, to hold a place among civilized states, but now the Empire of the Czars came suddenly forward under the guidance of an ambitious woman, whom unexpected events had placed on the throne. Whilst others gazed in doubt or fear, the Lough-Guile youth saw, as if intuitively, how matters stood, and gave forth the following announcement, which all parties felt to be really oracular:—"Russia is no longer to be gazed at as a distant glimmering star, but as a great planet that has obtruded itself into our system, whose place is yet undetermined, but whose motions must powerfully affect those of every other orb."

It was necessary that England, for many weighty reasons, should stand well with this new-born, gigantic state. English statesmen, previous to the reign of Catherine, had most anxiously endeavoured to negociate a *treaty of commerce* with Russia, but in vain. Sir Charles H. Williams had failed in this object, during the reign of the empress Elizabeth; Mr. Keith was equally unsuccessful at the court of Peter; whilst the Earl of Buckingham, who went to Russia soon after the accession of Catherine, could not make the slightest progress towards a treaty either of commerce or alliance. The Empress Elizabeth had been induced to acquiesce in a continuation of the regulations established by the former treaty, which expired in 1734, but Catherine flatly refused the renewal, or even continuation, of the old arrangements, simply on the ground that Russia would not enter into exclusive relations with any European power in particular. Under these difficult circumstances, Lords Holland and Sandwich determined to send Macartney to St. Petersburgh. Accordingly, in August, 1764, he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Empress of Russia; in the following October, he received the honour of knighthood, and, early in November, started on his important mission to the North. His tact enabled him to obviate every difficulty of access to the Empress;[e] whilst his vigilance, penetration, and discretion afterwards completely triumphed over the obstacles opposed to his views by the artifices of others, both in St. Petersburgh and London. In a word, he succeeded in persuading the Russian court to agree to a treaty nearly in accordance with the instructions he had received, and in all respects satisfactory to the wishes of British merchants, at St. Petersburgh. Many were the distinguished testimonials of approbation and respect conferred on him for this most important service. From being an envoy, he was elevated to the position of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the British Court, in which capacity, he finally concluded the treaty. The merchants of the British Factory at St. Petersburgh, presented to him a grateful and highly complimentary address, whilst in England, he had thus established for himself a reputation which afterwards secured him employment in offices of the highest public trust and importance. When about to leave St. Petersburgh, in 1767, he received a magnificent golden snuff box, enriched with diamonds, from the Empress, as a mark of her esteem, although she felt that he had proved an over-match for her ministers in the negociation of the celebrated treaty. During his sojourn in the north, he had opportunities of rendering certain useful services to Stanilaus, the unfortunate King of Poland, in acknowledgment of which,

[e] During his first public audience with the Empress, he delivered a short complimentary speech, in which, after assuring her of George the Third's inviolable attachment to her person, Sir George adds—"And forgive me, Madam, if here I express my own particular satisfaction in having been chosen for so pleasing, so important an employment. By this means I shall have the happiness of more nearly contemplating those extraordinary accomplishments, those heroic virtues, which make you the delight of that half of the globe over which you reign, and which render you the admiration of the other." We must recollect that, at the date of this address, Catherine, who was really a great Sovereign, had not exhibited any of the weaknesses which subsequently rendered her personal character so notorious. This introductory speech was much admired in England among others, by Edmund Burke.

the latter sent him the insignia of the order of the *White Eagle*, accompanied by a very complimentary autograph letter.

On the return of Sir George Macartney to England, he was chosen one of the representatives of the borough of Cockermouth, in the parliament of Great Britain; he felt, however, as if he might be more useful to his native land in the Irish House of Commons, and was therefore elected for Armagh, in the month of July, 1768. On the 1st of January, 1769, he was appointed Chief Secretary of Ireland under Lord Townsend, the first *resident* Lord Lieutenant, and during the four years he held this difficult position, his services were so honestly and impartially rendered as to secure the approbation of all political parties. In his *Account of Ireland*, we have an impartial view of the difficulties which beset the path of every honourable politician in the land, at the period referred to. In 1772, the king nominated Sir George Macartney a Knight Companion of the Order of the Bath, and two years subsequently, he was appointed Governor and Constable of the castle and fortress of Toome, as an acknowledgment of his valuable services in Ireland. It could not be expected that he would have no public opponents in the arena of Irish politics, but although a few members of the House of Commons were well disposed to show themselves as such, they never had any just grounds for disapprobation. No man could have met a fault-finder with more courage or tact than he. Mr. Flood and Dr. Lucas occasionally required to be kept in check, but they soon discovered that Sir George Macartney was a most untoward antagonist. On one occasion, they thought proper to taunt him about his *blue riband* and *White Eagle* distinctions, which drew forth a reply that had the effect of preventing any further attacks of the same nature. The concluding sentences of his reply are as follows:—"Thus, Sir, I was employed at a very early age, whilst some of my opponents were engaged in the weighing of syllables, the measurement of words, the composition of new epithets, and the construction of new phrases. If, in my embassies, I have received testimonies never before granted but to my superiors; if my person is adorned with extraordinary proofs of distinction, let me tell these gentlemen that they are badges of honour, not of shame and disgrace. Let me tell them that, if from my public situation my name should ever pass to posterity, it will be transmitted as a testimony of my services and integrity, not as a record of infamy and crimes."

In 1774, Sir George was chosen to represent, in the British Parliament, the boroughs of Ayr, Irwin, Rothsay, Campbeltown, and Inverary, being introduced to these constituencies probably by his marriage, in 1768, with the Lady Jane Stewart, second daughter of the Marquis of Bute. In 1775, he was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Southern Carribee islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago. In the following year he was advanced to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Macartney, Baron of Lissanoure. On arriving at Grenada, the principal seat of his government, he found that island distracted by a fierce religious feud waged between French Roman Catholics and Scotch Presbyterians. The Frenchmen objected to the

Scotchmen as intruders, and the Scotch hated them in turn because they were papists. The strife was rapidly ruining the island, and had already destroyed its credit as a place of trade. Of the two parties, the Scotchmen were the more violent and difficult to conciliate; but Lord Macartney knew better how to manage them than perhaps any other man of his day. He lost no time in allaying and adjusting the dissensions; his measures gave satisfaction to both parties, and he had soon the pleasure of witnessing the happiest results, both publickly and privately, throughout the colony. But this happy re-establishment of order was soon afterwards overthrown by a French invasion, which Lord Macartney bravely, but fruitlessly, endeavoured to resist. His lordship was taken prisoner, and plundered of all his personal property, together with many valuable papers, which he could never afterwards recover. Although Grenada was lost, his defence of it had been heroic, and, on his return to England, he met with a very gracious reception from the King and the nation. The British legislature granted forthwith to the island of Grenada, though occupied by the French, the indulgence of permitting the importation of sugars and other produce into Great Britain, and this boon was granted because of the gallant resistance made by Lord Macartney at the head of his little force, composed principally of inhabitants of the island.

The next field of Lord Macartney's labours was the East, which, as it presented greater difficulties, afforded ampler and worthier opportunities of distinction. The East India Company, at this period, found itself sadly in want of a suitable person to succeed Sir Thomas Rumbold in the Presidency of Madras. Candidates in great numbers came forward with statements of their competency to fill the vacant chair; but, on the long list of generals, directors, civilians, commissaries, and engineers, there was not one name which could be regarded as a guarantee for the faithful discharge of public duty. At length, after due deliberation, and not a little discussion, Lord Macartney, who had not been a candidate, was appointed governor and president of Fort St. George. On the 22nd of June, 1781, he landed at Madras, where his arrival was hailed with joy, as an event which might be regarded as affording some hope of relief from the difficulty and degradation in which the affairs of the presidency had been sunk. When Lord Macartney commenced (as he did without delay) to exercise his high functions, he found the affairs of the Carnatic in a condition which would have daunted a less resolute spirit. There was disunion in the council, and danger without. The country was literally overrun by Hyder Ali's troops; a famine swept away the miserable inhabitants, and even threatened the English settlement; and, deeper than all this visible distress, there existed a system of the grossest and most complicated abuse, which could not be so easily seen and arrested, in every department of the Company's service. When he began the work of improvement and reform, he felt himself hampered at every turn by intrigue and corruption. His integrity exposed him to every species of calumny, whilst the necessary measures taken for the detection of abuse had to be enforced, not only with great difficulty, but with actual personal danger. During the four succeeding years he was able, by unwearied and heroic effort,

to introduce a better state of affairs. His government was as beneficial to the country as it was honourable to himself, from its unsullied integrity. So great and so unanimous was the approval of his conduct that, in 1785, he was appointed to the high office of Governor-General of Bengal, which, after due consideration, he declined. He had done so much, however, for the government of India, that the Company granted him an annuity for life of £1500 per annum.

During the six years that followed his return from India he resided in Ireland, absorbed principally in the duties of a country gentleman, and occasionally attending in the Irish House of Peers. An anxiety for the prosperity of his native province induced him to undertake the duties of *Trustee of the Linen Manufacture* of Ulster. He accepted also, at the same time, the office of *Custos Rotulorum* for the county of Antrim, and the command of a regiment of militia dragoons. These were comparatively humble appointments, but they were conferred by his native county, and as such, were highly acceptable to Lord Macartney.[f]

Lord Macartney was not long permitted, however, to enjoy the retirement and rest which he so much desired, and which his failing strength required. In the year 1792, the British government decided on sending an ambassador to the Emperor of China, for the purpose, if possible, of opening up the path of a more extended traffic, or, if not, to impress the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire with a respectable idea of our national greatness. Lord Macartney was solicited to undertake this important service, and large inducements offered to secure his acceptance of it. The only condition he made in the arrangement was, that he should have the choice of his own suite, which was readily granted. The ministry on this occasion were abundantly liberal, and besides servants, guards, secretaries, and other attendants, allowed him a salary of £15,000 a year. On the 3rd of

[f] It was during this interval of rest from public life that he superintended the building of a large village on his estate at Dervock, the houses in which are small but neatly and uniformly planned. He also had seventy acres of bog, in the vicinity of Lissanoure, prepared and planted with larch fir, a tree which was then little known in the North of Ireland. The first introduction of the larch in Scotland occurred in 1725, when Sir James Nasmyth had it brought from Switzerland, and planted at his seat of Dawick, in Peeblesshire. The Earl of Fife afterwards planted 181,813 trees on his estate in Morayshire, and James, Duke of Athol, planted the enormous number of 27,431,600. Other Scotch proprietors introduced the larch in smaller quantities. Amongst the earliest planters of larch in England may be mentioned the Bishop of Llandaff, who had 15,500 of these trees put down on the high ground near Ambleside in Westmoreland, in 1787-8; John Sneyd, who planted 13,000 in Staffordshire, in 1785, and 11,000 additional in 1795; W. Mellersh, Esq., of Blyth; Joseph Carolishar, Esq., of Hodsock Park; Richard Slater Milnes, Esq., near Ferrybridge, Yorkshire; Mr. George Wright, of Gildingwells, in the same county; Thomas White, Esq., of West Retford, Nottinghamshire; the Rev. T. Whitticar, of Holme, Lancashire; and Thomas Gaitskill, Esq., of Braithwait, Cumberland, who planted each respectively 47,000, 27,000, 200,000, 11,573, 13,000, 64,135, and 43,000.

Between the years 1727 and 1800, larch trees to the number of 28,000,000 were planted in Great Britain. Of these, it is supposed that not over fifty trees are now in a living state. On the soils in which it has been planted it thus decayed before its natural period of maturity had arrived. At Lissanoure it seems to have found a genial soil, and, judging from the general appearance of the plantations, the larch seems here to have resisted the blight which has been its lot in other places.

May, 1792, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the King of England to the Emperor of China. On the same day he was admitted a member of his Majesty's Privy Council at St. James's, and on the 28th of June following, advanced to the title of Viscount Macartney, of Dervock, in the County of Antrim. He soon afterwards proceeded on his embassy, accompanied by Sir George Staunton, as his secretary, together with a great many servants, carrying rich presents to the Emperor of China. On his arrival, the latter agreed, although not without some hesitation, to receive him. In his approach to Pekin, the northern capital of the empire, the ambassador was obliged to sail round the South Sea coast of China, a track which had been previously little known to European navigators. But the opportunity of exploring these regions was regarded as almost sufficient compensation for the expense incurred by the embassy. When Lord Macartney landed, mandarins of the highest rank were waiting to conduct him to the Imperial Court. His presents were accepted, and he was received in a manner becoming his rank, and consistent with the etiquette of the Chinese Court; but the leading objects of his mission were utterly frustrated. One of these was to obtain permission for the permanent residence of a British minister at the Court of his Celestial Majesty. But although neither this nor an increased traffic in hysons and boheas was accomplished, many indirect and smaller advantages were undoubtedly realized. A detailed and most interesting account of the Embassy to China was prepared by Sir George Staunton, from Lord Macartney's papers, and published in two vols. 4to, 1797.

On his return from China, in September, 1794, he found that he had been created an Irish Earl in his absence. In the following year he was sent to Italy on a mission, the precise objects of which have not yet transpired, but the duties of which were discharged by him to the entire satisfaction of the British ministry. In 1797, he was created a British Peer, under the title of Baron Macartney, of Parkhurst, in Surrey, and appointed Governor and Captain-General of the Cape of Good Hope. This appointment was made whilst he was absent in Italy, and without even consulting him, simply because there was no other person to whom the post could be entrusted with equal hope of successful results. When about to resign his appointment at the Cape, in the year 1799, in consequence of impaired health, he deemed it right to leave on record a declaration similar to that which he had made before leaving India. This declaration consisted simply of a very solemn form of oath, to the effect that he had lived on his salary in both instances exclusively, never receiving bribes nor engaging in trafficking speculations for his own benefit. In speaking of this public act, he says:—"I trust that it will not be imputed to me as proceeding from any motive of vanity, ostentation, or parade, but from a sense of that propriety and consistency which I wish to preserve through the whole course of my political life, now drawing near to its conclusion. If it be a gratification to my private feelings, it is equally the discharge of a debt which the public has a right to demand from every public man."

The few years of life that remained to him were passed in comparative seclusion, an arrangement he was in a great measure compelled to adopt by the rapidly declining state of his health. He had rented a residence at Chiswick, during the joint lives of Lady Macartney and himself, and in it he dwelt during the greater part of each year; not failing, however, to visit Lissanoure in the autumn, so long as his health enabled him to do so. He was anxious to watch the progress of the improvements which he had ordered to be commenced on his estate there and at Dervock, and many of which he had himself superintended after his return from India. As already stated, his paternal property came in for a large share of his attention, or rather of his affection, and his memory is still revered as a kind and generous landlord. He died at Chiswick, on the 31st of March, 1806, leaving his estate and the greater part of the money he had saved from his salaries when in China and at the Cape, to Lady Macartney, during her life. At her death, the whole descended to his niece, Elizabeth Hume, for her life, with remainder to her children, beginning with her eldest son, who were to assume the surname, and bear the arms of *Macartney* only. The titles he enjoyed are all extinct. Elizabeth Hume's eldest son, George, is the present owner of the estate.

Amidst all his pressing and important duties, Lord Macartney continued throughout his whole life to cultivate his literary tastes, and to keep up an intimate acquaintance with the leading literary men of his day. He was one of the original members of Dr. Johnson's celebrated *Literary Club*, an association whose meetings he continued to attend, with the greatest pleasure, during the last six years of his life. He was also a member of the Royal, and Antiquarian, Societies of London. The only writings which he had leisure to arrange into regular form, consist of three treatises, with the following titles:—*An Account of Russia in* 1776; *An Account of Ireland in* 1773; *A Journal of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.* These are thoroughly impartial treatises on their respective subjects, and contain much practical information.[g]

[g] His *Account of Russia* was drawn up from a variety of documents obtained during his residence at St. Petersburg, and more especially from his own personal observation. In the Introduction, he speaks of Russia as appearing to him "like the view of an immense waste," where the prospect is lost in the vastness, and the eye wearied with its gloomy distance. "I must observe," says he, "that this account will appear in a variety of instances very different from any that has been hitherto published; indeed, so many changes have already been made by the present Empress, and so many still greater are expected, that a discourse of this kind ought scarcely to be considered in any other light than as an annual calendar: I therefore do not presume to give it you under a higher title than that of a *Russian Almanack for the year* 1767." A very few copies of this valuable Treatise were printed at a private press, for the use of ministers, and for distribution among some of his most intimate friends. It was addressed to the Secretary of State for the Northern department.

Almost on the same plan as the above, and certainly with the same practical object in view, Lord Macartney drew up this *Account of Ireland in* 1773. Of this Treatise he only printed a few copies for the use or amusement of his particular friends. In his general description of Ireland, we are told that it contains seventeen millions of acres; that the population, in 1766, was supposed to exceed two millions and a-half, and that the number of houses then on the Hearth-Money Books was 126,026. He states that Ireland's

To the honour of Lord Macartney's memory, it ought to be especially recorded that he was never a political partisan. He disliked spurious or speculative patriotism, but loved all, of whatever party, who aimed in common at the substantial amelioration of the country. He felt, and eloquently proclaimed, that the odious system of persecution, embodied into law in the various statutes against Popery, stood in the path of all national progress, especially in Ireland. On this subject his sentiments were frequently stated in the honest language of indignation. When about to lay down his appointment of Chief Secretary for Ireland, he uttered the following words, so beautifully expressive of his manly and sincere character:—"If I have merited the approbation of my countrymen, I shall rejoice, not only as a servant of government, not as a secretary to a Lord Lieutenant, but as an Irishman, as a man who thinks it an honour to have been born among you, who esteems it a peculiar happiness to possess his property in this kingdom, and who has a heart that feels warmly for the interests and liberties of his country. May she be happy! When the tumult of contending parties shall cease, when the heads of those parties shall rest from their labours, whatever may become of Lord-Lieutenants and Secretaries, may she be happy! But to be happy, she must listen to the voice of moderation, and take wisdom for her guide: and the paths of wisdom are the paths of peace."

The following inscription was written by Lord Macartney, in the year 1800, and he intended it to be placed over the gateway of his castle of Lissanoure, on his paternal estate. As such, it is highly interesting, and certainly not the less so for its expression of the unabated affection (amounting almost to veneration) which he cherished for his native district to his dying day:—

exemption from toads, vipers, snakes, slow-worms, and all venomous creatures, is a circumstance so fortunate and so singular as to merit particular notice. Of the inhabitants he says: "the present motley generation is composed of parts not less heterogeneous than the inhabitants of Great Britain, being a mass of aboriginal Irish, Spaniards or Milesians, Danes, Saxons, Normans, English, Scots, Huguenots, and Palatines." He speaks of the native Irish as "active in body, and of a bold and daring spirit: patient of cold, hunger, and labour; dauntless in danger, and regardless of life where glory is in view; warm and constant in love and friendship, but quick in resentment, and implacable in hatred; generous and hospitable beyond all bounds of prudence; credulous, superstitious, and vain; talkative, disputatious, and strongly disposed to turbulence and contest: they are almost all fond of learning, and are endowed with excellent parts, but are usually more remarkable for liveliness of thought than accuracy of expression."

The *Journal* kept by Lord Macartney of his Proceedings in China is a remarkably valuable and original document. At the end he says—"I now close my China Journal, in which I have written down the transactions and occurrences of my embassy and my travels through this empire, exactly as they passed, and as they struck me at the time. My sole view has been to represent things precisely as they impressed me. I had long accustomed myself to take minutes of whatever appeared of a curious or interesting nature; and such scenes as I have lately visited were not likely to obliterate my habits or relax my diligence. I regularly took notes or memorandums of the business I was engaged in, and the objects I saw, partly to serve for my own use and recollection, and partly to amuse the hours of a tedious and painful employment, but I will not flatter myself that they can be of much advantage or entertainment to others."

"Sub libertate
Quieti
Hos avitos agros, has aedes auctas ornatas
D. D. D.

Georgius, comes de Macartney, Vice-Comes Macartney de Dervock; Dominus Macartney, Baro. de Lissanoure in regno Hiberniae; Baro. Macartney de Parkhurst et de Auchanleck,[h] in regno Magnae Britanniae; ordinis regii et perantiqui Aquilae Albae necnon ordinis praehonorabilis de Balneo Eques, et regi a sanctioribus Consiliis utriusque regni, in patriam redux, anno 1796.

Erin nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Hausimus, Europaeque plagas fere visimus omnes;
Nec latuit regio primum patefacta Columbo:
Sinarum lieuit dextram tetigisse tyranni,
Tartarieos montes, magnum et transcendere murum,
Turbidaque impavide tentavimus alta Pechellae
Haetenus Europae nullis sulcata earinis;
Casibus et variis acti terrâque marique
*Sistimus hic tandem atque Lares veneramur avorum..*"

Lord Macartney's niece and sole heiress to his estates, Mrs. Hume, caused a Cenotaph to be erected to his memory in Lissanoure church. The following is a portion of the inscription on this monument:—

"Illum ad Ladogae paludem,
Illum ad Occidentales Cyclades,
Illum in sacrati Gangis peninsula,
Illum in imperii Jovis Hammonis finibus.
Quid plura? Illum in extremos Seras,
Caeteris mortalibus jam tum non divisos,
Pro Rege, pro Patria pro totius Orbis
Emolumento,
Strenuè, piè, graviter, se gerentem,
Sua ipsius admirata est actas
Mirantes commemorabunt posteri.

[h] It is worthy of remark, that the old family estate of Auchinleck, in Scotland, remained unalienated, and belonged to Lord Macartney at the time of his decease. George Macartney, who died in 1691, stated in his will, that, as this property had been so long in the family, he wished it still preserved to the name. His grandson, James Macartney, having no son, and desirous of carrying out the wishes expressed in this will, bequeathed the estate of Auchinleck to his kinsman, the Earl of Macartney.

Tali tantoque viro,
Post indefessos labores,
Urbe Londini mortuo, suburbanis sepulto,
Elizabetha Hume,
Consaniguanitate neptis,
Amore et adoptione filia,
Hoc Cenotaphium, P. C."

A portrait of Lord Macartney (painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds,) was in the possession of his relative, Major-General Benson, at the time of his lordship's death. This portrait was taken previously to his departure on the embassy to Russia, in the 27th year of his age. In his 65th year, a full length drawing was executed by Mr. Edridge, but the interval of forty years produced such a change in his personal appearance, that little or no resemblance could be traced between the two pictures.[i]

GEO. HILL.

# THE LOST AND MISSING IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LLD., M.R.I.A., &c.

THAT a great number of Irish manuscripts must have perished, at an early period, appears evident from the Irish Annals, which record the frequent destruction by fire of the most celebrated ecclesiastical cities and monasteries of Ireland. Thus, to give a few examples, Armagh was burnt in the years 670, 687, 770, 778, 839, 914, 995, 1020, 1074, 1093, 1112, 1116, 1137, 1164, 1166, and 1179. In 1120, the library escaped,[a] which was situated within the *rath*, although the steeple, with its bells, all the churches, and all the books in the houses of the students were destroyed. It is very clear, however, that this library perished in some of the subsequent conflagrations, as we have not a single book remaining of those which could be considered as having belonged to the Armagh Library of 1020, except the *Canoin Phatraic*, now called the Book of Armagh, which was preserved by the Mac-Mayres, its hereditary keepers. Clonmacnoise, the "Scotorum nobile culmen," was burnt in the years 719, 750, 773, 811, 985, 1020, 1077, 1164, and 1179. Glendalough, in 770, 1061, 1071, 1084, 1095, and 1163. Clonfert was burnt in 744, 842, 1015, 1045, 1164, and 1179. To which might be added all the distinguished monastic cities of Ireland, which were as often plundered as they were burnt: so that, between the plundering and the burning, the manuscripts must have suffered incalculably.

[i] For the knowledge of several facts connected with Lord Macartney's public career, the writer of the preceding sketch is indebted to Barrow's *Account of his Life*, published in 2 vols. 4to, 1807.

[a] Strange to say, Colgan in translating this passage renders it as if the *library only* was burnt.

Connell Mageoghegan, in the dedication[b] of his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, made in 1628, gives the following account of the destruction of the Irish manuscripts which was going on in his time:—

"Since which time [that of Brian Boru] there were many septs in the kingdome that lived by itt, and whose profession was to chronicle and keep in memorie the state of the kingdome, as well for the time past, present, and to come; and now because they cannot enjoy that respect again by their said profession, as heretofore they and their ancestors received, they sett nought by the said knowledge, neglect their books, and choose rather to put their children to learn English than their own native language; insomuch that taylors do cutt with their scissors the leaves of the said books which were once held in greate account, and slice them in long peeces to make measures of, so that the posteritie are likely to fall into ignorance of many things which happened before theire time."

That there were very full accounts of Irish historical transactions preserved in Ireland, in the twelfth century, we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, who states that the Irish had very copious accounts of the historical events of their country, but written in a rude, loose, and scattered style. From this the author of *Cambrensis Eversus* infers that the Irish had a voluminous history written in the Latin language, for that if it had been in Irish, Giraldus could not have understood it [it does not seem to have occurred to him that it might have been translated for him]. His words are (in his preface to his translation of Keating's *History of Ireland*):—

"Among the Latins, Cicero mentions Fabius, Cato, Piso, and Fannius as most rude and barbarous in their style, and without culture or polish. Thus [we see that later] writers embellished history with the beauties of diction. Cambrensis lived five hundred years after this period. But no one doubts that the Irish chronicles given by Cambrensis were extant long before he was born, otherwise their novelty would have hindered Cambrensis himself from considering them authentic. Besides, as war was then raging in Ireland, no one had leisure to write history. We must, therefore, refer the composition of Irish history to earlier times. It is certain that Tigernach (who died A.D. 1088) composed one partly in Latin, partly in Irish; and that the Latin fragments of this history were inserted by Cormac Callenan, the king, archbishop, and martyr (who died in A.D. 908), in the Psalter of Cashel; and the same was preserved by Ængus the Culdee, and incorporated with his Psalter Hymnorum."[c]

[b] Dedicated by him to Terence Coghlan, Esq., of Kilcolgan, in the King's County, April 20th, 1627.

[c] "Apud Latinos a Cicerone recensentur Fabius, Cato, Piso, Fannius, horridi et agrestes in dicendo fuerunt, sine cultu et nitore: sicuti scriptores historiam orationis pigmentis expolierunt. Quingentos abhinc annos Cambrensis vixit: nemo autem dubitat quin Hibernica Cronica a Cambrensi perfecta diu ante ipsum natum extiterunt, alioquin vel ipsa novitas ipsius Cambrensis fidem iis conciliare non posset. Nec, bello tunc in Hibernia flagrante, cuiquam historiam scribere vacavit: quare ad anteriora tempora confectio historiæ Hiberniæ referenda est. Eam certè Tigernachus (An. Dni. 1088 mortuus) partim Latinè partim Hibernicè condidit, et ejus historiæ fragmenta latina Cormacus Callenanus rex, archiepiscopus, et martyr, (An. Dni. 908 eremptus) Casselensi Psalterio inserit; cui simile ab Engusio Culideo, seu Deicola, præstitum, et suo hymnorum Psalterio intextum est."

Dr. Geoffrey Keating, who finished his history of Ireland in 1629, has the following notice of the manuscripts extant in Ireland in his time :—

"As to what belongs to the history of Ireland, it should be considered that it is authentic, because it used to be purged at the meeting of Tara every third year, in the presence of the nobility, clergy, and ollavs [chief professors]; in evidence of which there remain the following chief books, which are still to be seen in Ireland, viz.: the Psalter of Cashel, written by the holy Cormac MacCullenan, King of the two provinces of Munster, and archbishop of Cashel; the Book of Nuachongbhail; the Book of Armagh; the Book of Clonenagh, in Leix; *Saltair-na-rann (Psalterium Rhythmicum)*, written by Ængus Celedé; the Book of Glendalough; *Leabhar na-g-Ceart* (the Book of Rights or Tributes), written by St. Benignus, son of Sesenen; *Uidhir-Chiarain*, which was written at Clonmacnoise; the Yellow Book of St. Moling; and the Black Book of St. Molaga."

Of these MSS. very few now are known to exist—

1. The Psalter of Cashel. A large fragment of a copy of this work, which was made for Edmond Mac Richard Butler, in the year 1453, is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, (fol. Laud 610,) but no perfect copy of it has yet been found. Reference is made, in the fragment of this MS. which remains, to other MSS., such as the Book of Cong, the Book of Rahen, and the Yellow Book of Ferns, all unknown (by these names) at present.

2. The Book of Nuachongbhail, mentioned by Keating, is also unknown. There are several churches of this name in Ireland, but no tradition of the former existence of such a book at any of them is now preserved. Nuachongbhail was one of the old names of Navan, in Meath, and of Faughanvale, near Londonderry.

3. The Book of Armagh may possibly be the book at present, and for some time, so called, but which had been more anciently called *Canoin Phatraic*, and which contains a copy of the Four Gospels, and some fragments of Lives of St. Patrick; but it is very doubtful that Keating would have classed it among the "chief *historical* books," so that we may be safe in conjecturing that the Book of Armagh mentioned by Keating was a MS. containing either annals or genealogies, or both.

4. The Book of Clonenagh. Keating elsewhere calls this MS. the Book of the Annals of Clonenagh, and gives a large extract from it on the boundaries of the dioceses established in Ireland at the Synod of Rathbreasail, in the year 1118. From the extreme value of this extract, we are led to deplore the loss of the MS. Clonenagh was a famous monastery erected in Leix, by St. Fintan, in the sixth century, and some of its remains are still to be seen near Mountrath, in the Queen's County.

6. *Saltair na Rann.* There is a very fine old copy of this work preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, folio, vellum. Rawl. 503.

7. The Book of Glendalough. There is a considerable fragment of a MS. of great antiquity in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 2,18), which has been quoted under this name; but

it has been found, from memoranda written into it in the 12th century, that it is more likely to be the Book of Ferns, or the Book of Leinster.

8. *Leabhar na g-Ceart.* There are two vellum copies of this work still extant in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, and it was printed for the Celtic Society in the year 1847.

9. *Uidhir Chiarain*, better known as *Leabhar na h-Uidhri.* A considerable ancient fragment of this MS., in the handwriting of Maelmurry, son of Keleher MacConnemoght, who flourished in the eleventh century, is now preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, in Hodges and Smith's Collection.

10. The Yellow Book of Moling. This belonged to the monastery of St. Mullins, in the county of Carlow. It is now unknown, unless it be Moling's Copy of the Gospels, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

11. The Black Book of St. Molaga. This, which would seem to have belonged to the monastery of Timoleague, in the county of Cork, is entirely unknown, unless it be the book found in the Castle of Lismore, and now called the Book of Lismore from that circumstance, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

There were very many other books of annals, genealogy, and topography extant in Ireland in Keating's time, but it would appear that he considered the eleven just mentioned as the chief historical Irish books then known. In other parts of his history, however, he makes mention of a book called *Leabhar Droma Sneachta*, the Book of Drumsnaght, "which," he says, "existed in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick;" but he nowhere tells us whether it was extant in his time, or where it was preserved. In the first chapter of the second part of the first book he writes: "Moreover, as it is on the historians of the Scotic race that it is incumbent to trace the lineage of the nobles sprung from Magog, and particularly the race of Fenius Farsa, we will here set down a detailed account of the descendants of Magog, according to the Book of Invasions called *Cin Droma Sneachta;* and before Patrick came to Ireland this author had existed." This Book of Druim Sneachta is also often quoted in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote.

The Irish literati of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were convinced that the pagan Irish had many important MSS. of genealogy and history before the introduction of Christianity, and among the rest this Book of Drumsnaght; but, since the appearance of the work of the Rev. Thomas Innes, entitled *Critical Essay on the Inhabitants of Scotland*, our Irish writers have been more cautious in these assertions. The only place called Druim-sneachta now known in Ireland is situated near the town of Monaghan, but nothing has been discovered to show whether the MS. in question belonged to it, or not.

Late in the same century we find Teige O'Rody, of Fenagh, in the county of Leitrim, giving the following account of Irish MSS. generally, and also of some that were lost or missing, in a letter to the celebrated antiquary, Edward Lhuyd —

"For old Irish manuscripts, I, Thady Roddy, of Crossfield, in the County of Leytrim, Esquire, have as many Irish bookes of philosophy, physicke, poetry, genealogys, mathematickes, invasions, laws, romances, &c., and as ancient as any in Ireland, and so have several others in all partes of the kingdome. My honored friend, Mr. Roger Flaherty, lost a curious volume of the mathematicks, duringe the last warre, in Gallway, which I lent him, the loss whereof he wonderfully condoles in a letter to me; that great man's sense of the loss of so rare a piece piercing his noble vitals, for being the instrument thereof, and blaming me in his letter for lending him the booke (tho' nothing in the world was more wellcome to him than the same, nor more ardently courted), &c. Some of the said bookes written [originally] anno Christi 15th in the reigne of Ferodagh Fionfeaghtnagh, who then reigned; some in the reign of Carbry Liffeagher, who began his reign Anno Christi 268; some in the reign of Cormac MacArt, who began his reign Anno Christi 227, and the bookes continued from generacion to generacion from three huudred years after the flood to the present age I have, &c. I have several volumes that none in this world now can peruse, though within twenty years there lived three or four that could read and understand them all, but left none behinde absolutely perfect in all them bookes, by reason that they lost the estates they had to uphold their publique teaching, and that the nobility of the Irish line, who would encourage and support their posterity, lost all their estates too, so that the antiquaryes' posterity were forced to follow husbandry, &c., to get their bread, for want of patrons to support them. '*Honos alit artes.*' Also the Irish being the most difficult and copious language in the world, having five dialects, viz., the common Irish, the poetic, the Law or lawyers' dialect, the abstractive and separative dialects, each of them five dialects being as copious as any other language, so that a man may be perfect in one, two, three, or foure of them dialects, and not understand a word in the other, contrary to all other languages, so that there are severall now in Ireland perfect in one, two, or three of those dialects, but none in all, being useless in those times, &c. I have Irish bookes of all those five dialects; I have the books of our law, being thirty in number (though my honoured friend, Sir Richard Cox was once of opinion that our law was arbitrary, and not fixed nor written, till I satisfied him to the contrary in the summer of 1699, by showing him some of the said law bookes). We find some of our law ordained by Olumfodlius, King of Ireland, who began his reign Anno Mundi 3883, before Christ 1316, according to our chronology 5129 from Adam to Christ, and so continued and augmented, as causes required, in the reigns of the successive kinges to the English Invasion, Anno Christi 1169."

What his "honoured friend, Sir Richard Cox," had written on the subject appeared in his *Hibernia Anglicana*, London 1689, in the introduction to which these words occur:—"Nor were their Laws better than their Governours: it was no written Law, no digested or well-compiled Rule of Right; no, it was only the will of the Brehon or the Lord. They pretended to certain Traditions or Customs, which they wrested or interpreted (as they do Traditions in Religion), to by-ends and

to serve a turn. The manner of deciding Controversies was equally ridiculous with the Law they judged by; for the *Brehon* used to sit on a Sod, or Turf, or a Heap of Stones on the top of a Hill, or rather a Mountain, without Canopy or Covering, and without Clerks, Registers, or Records, or indeed any formality of a Court of Judicature. Every Lord had one of these arbitrary Brehons, who, to be sure, took Care not to disoblige his Patron; the greatest Crimes (as Murder and Rape) were not punished otherwise than by Fine, whereof, the Brehon had the eleventh Part for his Fees; and Robbery and Theft were not counted Offenees at all, if done to any Body but the Lord's own followers. They reckoned all such Stealths to be clear Gain, and built Castles on Isthmus's and other inacessable Places, purposely to seeure such Prey and Plunder as they could get; and he was esteemed the bravest Man, who was most dexterous at this sport of plundering and eow stealing: nor is this thievish spirit yet banished that Nation, nor perhaps never will be as long as there is a Raporee in it. Among their Laws may be reckoned the Customs of Tanistry or Gavelkind. Tanistry was a barbarous Custom which, like Alexander's will, gave the Inheritanee to the Strongest; for though the Custom be pleaded to be (seniori et digniori puero) yet this certain Seniority was little regarded, but for the presumption that it was aecompanied with Experience and Policy; and therefore when it was divested of those eireumstances the younger Brother proved the better Man; this Custom was the occasion of many Murders, and of frequent civil Wars in almost every family, and so keeping the Succession uncertain and the Possession precarious, it was the greatest Hinderance to Improvement that could be, and therefore was justly abolished by Judgement in the King's Bench in Ireland in Hilary Term, 3 Jacobi 1."

Sir Richard Cox, however, never at any subsequent period acknowledged his having seen the manuscripts above referred to by O'Rody, or that the laws of the Irish had been committed to writing.

Of all the MSS. which belonged to O'Rody, only two are known to the writer as now extant, namely, the Book of Fenagh, now in private hands, and a parchment MS., containing lives of Saints Patrick and Columbkille, and a curious history of the family of MacSnibhne (MacSweeny), a branch of the northern Hy-Niall, who emigrated to Scotland in the eleventh century, and afterwards returned to Ireland in the fourteenth. This latter MS., which contains many marginal memoranda, in O'Rody's hand-writing, in Irish and Latin, is in the possession of the proprietor and editor of this *Journal*. All O'Rody's other MSS. have either perished or are now entirely unknown.

The preceding extracts will give the reader a general idea of the number of Irish MSS. which have been lost. The following will show that some particular Irish MSS. which were formerly known have been long lost or missing

1. *The Psalter of Tara.* This work is referred to in a poem by Cuan O'Lochain, who flourished in the eleventh century, but no fragment of it has been identified as now remaining. The same name has been given by Teige O'Naughten to a compilation made by himself in the eighteenth century,

and now preserved in the MS. library of Trinity College, Dublin, (H. 1. 15.,) from the Book of Ballymote and various other MSS.; but this scribe had no authority for calling his compilation by this name, except that he fancied it contained the greater part of the subjects treated of in the Psalter of Tara. O'Flaherty quotes a poem beginning "*Teamhair na riogh, rath Chormaic*," *i.e.*, Tara of the kings, fort of Cormac: which among other things, he says, describes three schools instituted by King Cormac MacArt at Tara, in the third century; one for teaching military discipline, another for teaching history, and a third for jurisprudence. This poem was preserved in the Book of Hy-Many, folio 175. The Four Masters, and from them O'Flaherty [*Ogygia* iii., c. 69], describe the Psalter of Tara, as containing the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the kings of Ireland with those of the kings and emperors of the world, and of the provincial kings with the monarchs of all Ireland. It also contained an account of the tributes due to the monarchs from the provincial kings, and of the rents due to the provincial kings from their subjects, from the noble down to the peasant. It embraced likewise a description of the boundaries and mearings of Ireland from shore to shore, of provinces, cantreds, and townlands, and even of the smallest sub-divisions of land called *traigid*. The Four Masters add that these subjects were treated of in *Leabhar na-h-Uidhri*, and in the Book of Dinnseanchus; but they make no mention of the Psalter of Tara as being extant in their time.

Other books, of which we know nothing but the names, are quoted in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, as the Book of *Sabhall* (Saul, in the County of Down); the Book of Dungiven; St. Martin's Gospel, preserved at Derry-Columbkillle; the Long Book of Leighlin; the book of Druim Ceat, of which Colgan had a copy; the Book of O'Scoba; the Book of Nehemias MacEgan, from which Dudley Firbisse copied three fragments of annals lately printed for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.

The compiler of an account of the ancient cemeteries of Ireland preserved in *Leabhar na-h-Uidhri* makes the following reference to Irish MSS. of which no account is now to be had:—

"It was Flann and Eochy the Learned O'Kerrin that collected this account from the books of Eochy O'Flannagan of Armagh, and from the books of the monastery [Monasterboice] and from other choice books, viz., from the Liber Buidhe (Yellow Book), which disappeared from the *carcair* at Armagh, and from the Liber Gerr (Short Book) which was at the monastery, and this was the book which the student took with him by theft over the sea, and was never found since."

On the MSS. of St. Columbkille, Connell Mageoghegan has the following observations in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise:—

"He (St. Columbkille) wrote 300 bookes with his own hand. They were all New Testaments; he left a book to each of his churches in the kingdome, which bookes have a strange property, which is, that if they, or any of them, had sunk to the bottom of the deepest waters, they would not lose one letter or sign or character of them, which I have seen tried partly myself on that booke of them which is at Dorowe, in the King's County; for I saw the ignorant man that had the same in his

custodie, when sickness came on cattle, for their remedy, put water on the booke, and suffer it to remain therein; and saw also cattle return thereby to their former state [of health] and the booke to receive no loss."

*The Book of Durrow*, here referred to by Mageoghegan, is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (A. 4, 5), and is still in good preservation, notwithstanding all the water thrown on its sacred leaves to cure cattle. Superstitions of this kind have, however, most probably been the destruction of many of our ancient books.

In a tract preserved in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, on the genealogies of Corca-Laighdhe, in the present county of Cork, mention is made of a book which was "devoured by the poor people in the Wilderness."

In the same work mention is made of the Book of Dues for Conall and Fachtna, compiled by Conall, son of Enna, and presented to them at Inishbeg (in the parish of Affadown in West Carbery). It also mentions the Book of Druimsailech, which was one of the old names of the hill on which the old cathedral church of Armagh stood: it was also the name of several other places in Ireland; but the book is now entirely unknown.

Colgan informs us that he had in his possession a copy of a work called *Scuab Chrabhaidh*, *i.e.* the Besom of Devotion, written by Coleu, prelector of the School of Clonmacnoise, who died in the year 790. His words are: "Extat apud me ex codice Cluanensi et aliis vetustis membranis, quoddam hujus sancti viri opusculum, Hibernice *Scuap Chrabhaigh*, id est Scopæ Devotionis. Estque fasciculus ardentissimarum precum per modum quodammodo Litaniarum: opus plenum ardentissimæ devotione et elevatione mentis in Deum." *Acta SS.*, p. 379, note 9.

This is the "Coleu, Lector in Scotia," to whom Alcuin, one of the tutors of Charlemagne, wrote a very curious epistle, published by Ussher in his *Sylloge*, No. xviii., and reprinted by Colgan from Ussher, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, at 20th of February. At the same day, he gives a short life of Coleu, from which it appears that he was "supreme moderator" of the school of Clonmacnoise, and that he arrived at such eminence in learning and sanctity, that he was called chief scribe and teacher of the Scots of Ireland.

The work of this learned man called *Scuab Chrabhaidh*, of which Colgan had a copy made for him from a Clonmacnoise MS., is now unknown in Ireland, but it is probably still preserved in the library of St. Isidore's at Rome, of which we shall speak presently.

*The Book of Cuana (Liber Cuanach)* is frequently referred to in the Annals of Ulster as extant in the 15th century. He was probably the Cuana who was scribe of Trevet, in Meath, and died in 739. See those Annals at the years 471, 475, 482, 489, 544, 552, 598, 600, 602, 610, 628. This book is now unknown in Ireland; nor has Zeuss, or any other foreign writer or native Irish traveller, alluded to such a work as extant in any foreign library.

*The Book of Dubhdalethe*, who was first Lector and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, is also

quoted in the Annals of Ulster. See the years 628, 972, 1021. Dubhdalethe died in the year 1065. This book, which was evidently a collection of annals, is now entirely unknown.

*The Book of Hy-Many.* This book was compiled by the O'Duvegans, now Dugans, or Duggans, who were hereditary historiographers of Hy-Many. It was extant in Ireland in the possession of the late Sir William Betham, Ulster King at Arms, who sold it to the Duke of Buckingham, at the sale of whose MSS. it became the property of Lord Ashburnham, who has refused the writer of this paper access to it. O'Reilly gives a short account of the contents of this MS. in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Irish Writers*, p. 121 to 124, from which it appears that it is a very valuable document, written on vellum of the largest size, but wanting leaves at the beginning and at the end; and that it remained in the possession of a branch of the O'Kellys till the year 1757. There is a considerable fragment of this MS. now preserved in the British Museum, (Egerton 82,) and it is to be hoped that, if ever Lord Ashburnham's MSS. come to the hammer, the directors of the British Museum will purchase them, and insert the fragments of the Book of Hy-Many, which they now possess, into their proper places, so as to restore the work to its pristine integrity.

*The Great Book of Lecan.* A book is referred to under this title, by Dudley Firbisse, in his large genealogical work (now in the possession of Lord Roden), as containing the pedigrees of the Danish families. Two MS. Books, which belonged to the MacFirbisses of Lecan, are still extant, one called the Yellow Book of Lecan, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 2, 16), and the other (which is better known) in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Both are evidently defective, and neither of them contains any collection of pedigrees of Danish families, so that this portion of either is at present missing. If any of our readers can supply this deficiency, he will confer a great boon on the lovers of Danish and Norse history generally, by whom this is considered as an *hiatus maximè deflendus.* In a future number of this *Journal* we shall publish the extracts made by Dudley Firbisse from the Danish genealogies in this Great Book of Lecan, to give the reader some idea of the sort of genealogies they were.

*The Annals of Clonmacnoise.* In 1627 was extant, in the possession of Connell MacKeady Mageoghegan, Esq., of Lismoyny, in the County of Westmeath, an imperfect copy of the Annals of Clonmacnoise. This chronicle, which begins with the earliest period of Irish history, was continued down to the year 1408. Mageoghegan made a translation of the part of this chronicle then remaining, for his friend Terence Coghlan, Esq., of Kilcolgan, in the King's County. The original Irish of it is now unknown. There are several copies of the translation, the most correct of which is preserved in the MS. library of Trinity College, Dublin (F. 3, 19). It was thought that the late Sir Richard Nagle, of Donore, in the County of Westmeath, who was the representative of the senior branch of the Mageoghegans, had the original Irish of this chronicle in his possession, but he declared to the late Mr. Hardiman, author of the *History of Galway*, that he neither had, nor ever heard of, such a MS. being in the possession of any of his ancestors. Another branch of the

Mageoghegans had been transplanted by Cromwell to Bunowen, in the County of Galway, by the representative of whom, John A. O'Neill, Esq., the writer was told that he never saw or heard of such a MS. He stated that his grandfather, Richard Geoghegan, Esq., of Bunowen, had a large collection of pictures and MSS. of which he himself never got possession, and which he supposed had been sold by auction after his grandfather's death. The inquiry for this MS. stopped here; but it is hoped that our learned readers will extend the search further among the descendants of Richard Geoghegan, Esq., who are now extant in the third generation.

The following MSS. (now unknown) were in the hands of the Four Masters in 1636, and in the possession of O'Flaherty half-a-century later:—

1. *The Book of the Island of Saints*, in Lough Kee in the Shannon.

2. *The Book of the O'Mulconrys.* This, which was a book of annals, is frequently quoted by O'Flaherty in his marginal additions to the copy of the Annals of the Four Masters, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 2, 11).

3. *The Book of the O'Duigenans*, of Kilronan. There is a curious and valuable manuscript volume of Irish annals which was certainly in the possession of the O'Duigenans, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 1, 19), but it does not appear to be the same as the Book of Kilronan. It perfectly accords with all the passages quoted by Ware and Harris from the Annals of Loch Kee (Lough Key).

4. *The Historical Book of the MacFirbises of Lecan.* This was a compilation of annals, and is frequently quoted by O'Flaherty, in the margin of the copy of the Annals of the Four Masters already referred to; but no fragment of it has been identified, unless the fragment translation of Irish annals made for Sir James Ware, by the celebrated Dudley Firbisse, in 1666, (Lib. Brit. Mus. tom. 68, Ayscough 4799, Plut. Cxv., E,) may be considered as a part of it.

*The Dumb Book of James Mac Firbis.* This appears to have been in the possession of Dudley Firbisse, in 1650, when he compiled his large genealogical work. (See *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 153, 170, 173, published by the Irish Archæological Society.)

*The Registry of Clonmacnoise.* Archbishop Ussher, in his *Report on the Diocese of Meath*, addressed to King James's Commissioners, states that this Registry was in existence in his time, "but had lately been conveyed away by the practice of a lewd fellow, who hath thereupon fled the country." Transcripts of it were, however, in the possession of the archbishop and of his friend, Sir James Ware, who had it translated into English by the celebrated Irish antiquary, Dudley Firbisse. MacFirbisse's autograph copy is still extant in the British Museum, (No. 51, of the Clarendon collection,) but the Irish original is unknown to Irish scholars. The translation has been lately printed for the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society.

It appears, from various references in the handwriting of Sir George Carew, Governor of Munster in 1599, 1600-2, particularly from a MS. in the library of Lambeth Palace, that the

celebrated Florence MacCarthy, who was detained in the Tower of London for thirty-six years, had Irish chronicles in his possession. Colgan also states that he had extracts from a volume of the Lives of Irish saints belonging to the illustrious Florence MacCarthy of [the Tower of] London. What Sir George Carew did with these MSS. when he rifled Florence's house, and sent him a prisoner into England, nothing remains to explain. Sir George is accused, by the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, of having destroyed Irish MSS.; and the present writer can assert with confidence, that there is not a single MS. in the Irish language now to be found in the Carew collection at Lambeth Palace.

The autograph original of Keating's *History of Ireland* is now unknown; and, strange to say, Dr. Keating's handwriting has not been yet identified by any of our antiquaries. It is highly probable that the copy of Keating (which exhibits the *testimonia* of the contemporaneous bishops and literati of Ireland), now preserved among Colgan's MSS. in the library of St. Isidore's, at Rome, is Keating's autograph. The Count Mac Donnell, who examined this copy with great care, is of this opinion, as was the late Dr. Lyons, of Erris, a good Irish scholar, who made *fac-similes* of the signatures of the bishops to their testimonia in 1842. Various efforts have been made to procure this and other Irish MSS. for some Roman Catholic institution in Ireland, but hitherto without any effect. These documents are surely of no use in a library where no one belonging to the establishment can read them, and where no Irish visitor is permitted to examine them.

A manuscript book containing Irish genealogies and poems is frequently quoted in O'Brien's *Irish-English Dictionary*, under the name of "Pierce Ferriter's *Duanaire*," but which is now unknown. Dr. O'Brien, R.C. Bishop of Cloyne, published his dictionary at Paris, in 1768, and died at Cambray, in April, 1769. It is probable that this MS. is preserved in some library in France, but none of our literary tourists have yet identified it.

The foregoing notices will give some idea of the lost and missing MSS. in the Irish language. The following notices of MSS. relating to Ireland in Latin and English may induce some of our curious readers to be on the look-out for them.

*Colgan's unpublished Lives of Irish Saints.* Harris informs us, in his edition of Ware's *Writers*, that there were one thousand pages of Colgan's unpublished compositions preserved at Louvain in his time. This work and all Colgan's Irish MSS. were afterwards transferred to St. Isidore's, at Rome, where they are said to be still preserved. Colgan's MSS. are frequently quoted by Alban Butler, in his *Lives of Saints*. It is devoutly to be hoped that the General of the Franciscans will allow these MSS. to be purchased for the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal College of St. Patrick, at Maynooth, or the Catholic University, Dublin.

*O'Flaherty's Ogygia Christiana.* Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, Esq., in the preface to *Ogygia Vindicated*, published in 1675, writes:—"The learned author of the following work made valuable collections, which after his death have been dispersed and partly lost, through the care-

lessness of his friends. He was long employed about a work entitled *The Ogygia Christiana*, or the Annals of Ireland from its reception of Christianity. This second *Ogygia*, more valuable than the first for its importance, may, we hope, be still in some safe hand." (Publications of the Irish Arch. Soc.) Hardiman, in his edition of O'Flaherty's *Chorographical Description of West Connaught*, p. 425, says that he himself had made several inquiries respecting the MS. in question, and even proposed pecuniary rewards for any information which might lead to its recovery, but all without effect. He adds, that the only hope he now (1846) entertains about it is, that it may possibly remain in the possession of the family [of Fitzpatrick] that inherited O'Flaherty's estates, "after his only son, who died without issue, but among whom there was no opportunity of making inquiry."

About the year 1750, Brian O'Conor Kerry had undertaken a history of the principal Milesian families of Ireland, and published his prospectus in such a palatable manner, that several of the Irish families on the Continent, as well as at home, appeared eager to patronize his undertaking. But Brian O'Conor Kerry appears to have sunk under the weight of his own project, for no part of his intended history ever appeared except the prospectus! The writer of a topographical account of the southern part of Kerry (written about 1750), now preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, refers more than once to this Brian O'Conor as being then engaged on a work of this description. But no reference to his production is made by Dr. Smith, who wrote the history of Kerry shortly afterwards, nor by any other writer who has since treated of the families or topography of Kerry. That the work was never printed is certain; but whether it was finished or not, nothing remains to us to determine. It was probably carried into Austria by a branch of the O'Conors Kerry, who are said to be still extant there.

We learn from several letters written by the Ven. Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, to his friend J. C. Walker, Esq., and others, that he was engaged in writing a history of Ireland. In one of his latest letters (1786,) to Mr. Walker, he states that he was still engaged on this work; but he adds that, if he should not succeed to his liking in completing it during his years of infirmity, he would commit his lucubrations to the flames. That he did so before his death, in 1791, is highly probable, as his grandson, Dr. O'Conor, could find no part of it after his death. The latter writes (1796):—"I have been often so much led away by this consideration [of the distortion of truth in the works of prejudiced writers], that I felt the loss of Mr. O'Conor's intended history of Ireland to be more serious than it would appear on first view. No man was better acquainted than he with the original sources of it; no man knew better the spirit of our parties and of our clans before and after the Reformation; no man had laid himself out for such a task so early in life as he did; no man divided his company more between Protestants and Catholics, between higher and lower orders; no man scorned more to sacrifice historical truth on the altars of prejudice; and no man felt more sensibly the wrongs and the calamities of his countrymen, of all descriptions." *Memoirs*, p. 178.

Mr. O'Conor also wrote a statistical account of the parish of Kilronan, which is quoted in the preface to Mason's *Parochial Surveys*, for which the writer of this paper made every inquiry in his power in the year 1837, but could learn nothing of its nature or extent, or whether it then existed, from the late O'Conor Don (Denis, son of Owen, son of Denis, son of the venerable author), or from the late Matthew O'Conor, Esq., of Mount Druid. This work is probably extant among the family papers of O'Conor Don at Clonalis, but no one has yet taken the trouble to look for it. Its publication would be a delicious *morceau* to the student of Irish topography and statistics.

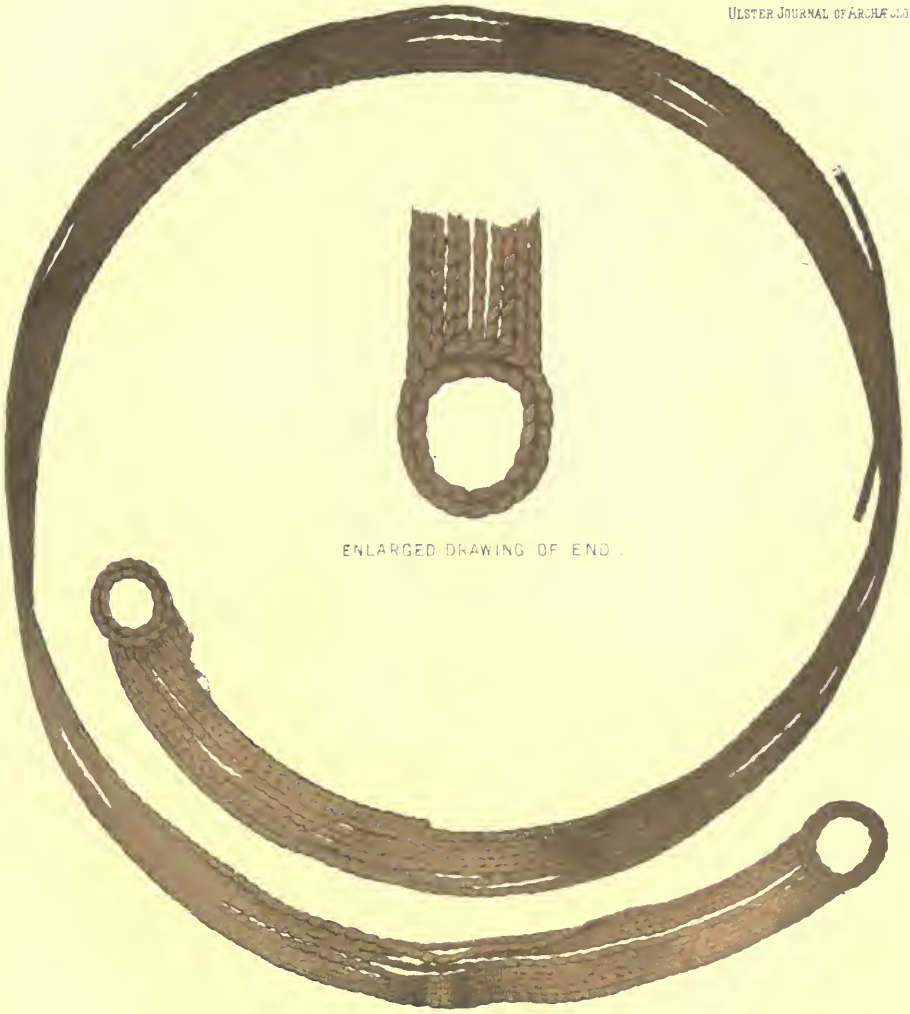
Early in the present century, a gentleman of the name of John O'Neill, a member of the respectable, but now totally decayed family of Mount-Neill, in the barony of Ivork, County of Kilkenny, made a large collection of Irish poems and songs, which he translated into English, and the latter of which he set to music. This gentleman, now many years dead, corresponded with the Neal John O'Neill, Esq., of Dublin, in the years 1822 and 1823, and it is hoped that Charles O'Neill, Esq., Barrister at Law, will collect and preserve the correspondence. If this collection of poems and songs be still extant in the hands of Mr. O'Neill's relative, an effort should be made to obtain them for the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

The curious traveller who would search for Irish MSS. in foreign libraries should bear in mind that the librarians on the Continent are in the habit of calling the Irish the *Saxon* character, and that it is, therefore, probable that many Irish MSS. are catalogued as Saxon ones. It would be desirable that all MSS. described as Saxon should be closely examined, to ascertain whether some of them may not be really Irish.

## ANCIENT IRISH GOLD.

The object figured in the accompanying Plate was found a few years since in the neighbourhood of Kanturk, in the County of Cork, and is the property of Thomas Hewitt, Esq., of Summerhill House, in the city of that name. Owing to the law of Treasure Trove, we have been unable to ascertain either the precise locality or the circumstances of its discovery, as the person from whom it was purchased declined giving any information. No article of a similar description has hitherto been depicted or described; but that it is Irish, and of very high antiquity, can scarcely be questioned by any person at all conversant with ancient Irish art remains. Its workmanship and general characteristics place this beyond controversy.

As will be seen, it consists of a band, terminating at each extremity in a ring, the whole measuring 20½ inches in length and nearly half-an-inch in breadth. It is formed from a skein of nine gold threads or fibres, made to adhere together. These were originally cut out of a thin plate




ANCIENT GOLD ORNAMENT

*Found at Danallow County of Cork 1857.*

Length 20½ in. Weight 22 dwts. 4 grs.

or strip of gold—the cutting instrument evidently not very fine—and were of a square form, but, owing to the instrument employed, and the rudeness or unskilfulness of the operator, they shew some inequality of outline and surface. Thus formed, they were twisted like a chord, as if by the hand, with the aid probably of a nipper, into that ornamental spiral form so characteristic of ancient metal-work, and which the late J. M. Kemble considered a peculiar feature of Irish art. The spiral line is preserved with great care and precision throughout; and when two of the wires are laid down side by side, the wreathing appears in opposition, or contrast, at right and left.

The terminating rings are of a peculiar character, formed out of the wires, but how joined, it is difficult to tell. The right forms an irregular circle, less in size than the left. Its inner part is composed of two wires, formed of the same class of threads, similar in their spiral form, and brazed in a mass. The left ring is of a like construction, but has a larger diameter.

The whole range of nine wires is welded together so as to form a flat band. The process by which this was accomplished is rather remarkable. It involved a certain amount of fusion, and might suggest the enquiry, how the smelting was used in the formation, or whether the artist was acquainted with the blow-pipe. It would seem that an extremely thin film of gold, almost transparent, had been laid over the wires at certain distances, sufficiently heated to bind the strands together. In this process all the edges of the wires were fused, or brought into a partially fused state, in order to make them cohere. About the centre, one outer joint has escaped from under the gold connecting plate, and shews its substance and character. To appreciate properly the ingenious and elaborate workmanship of this article would require the assistance of the microscope for its examination. And yet it is withal the work of a people unacquainted with the microscope. Unfortunately, as but too frequently happens with such remains, it has suffered from the ignorance of its finder, who, on its discovery, setting no value upon it, broke off some of the wires to clear his pipe with!

The extreme purity and fineness of the gold composing this band assimilates it at once to those ancient Irish remains in the same metal so abundantly found throughout this country, and of which purity is a leading characteristic. This is evidenced in the facility and perfection with which the twisting has been wrought. The Irish occasionally practised this style of work (the spiral), as we find it introduced, although sparingly, into some of our lunette-shaped ornaments.

The precise use of the band, we conceive, cannot admit of much speculation or controversy. By general consent it is regarded as a fillet for either the head or neck, but, whether male or female, there cannot be the same unanimity of opinion.[a] To either purpose it may have been applied, although probably more appropriately to the latter. As a head-band it may have served like the old Roman *vitta*, wherewith priests, priestesses, and poets were accustomed to bind the brow; or

[a] The Irish ladies, we know from an old writer, "adorned their necks with chains and carkanets;" and warriors, as we shall see, wore "tores" on the neck, and gold bands on the brow.

like the golden fillet which the Jewish high priest wore upon the forehead, and tied with a ribbon of hyacinth colour, or azure blue. Its length would exactly fit it for such an use; whilst, if employed as a necklace or gorget, this would exceed what was required, as, in such case, it would have hung loosely about the neck. Thus employed, it would come under the designation of *muin-torc* or neck-ornament.

The practice of wearing bandelets or fillets on the head is quite oriental, and prevails in the east at the present day: from this arose the regal crown worn by kings, originally consisting of a band drawn round the head and tied behind, as may be seen on ancient medals upon the heads of deities and kings. Such, probably, may have been the diadem *(asion)* worn by Meave, Queen of Connaught, in the first century, and which Irish Kings wore in subsequent times, according to Ward, *(Vit. Rumoldi)*. Whether the diadem, said to have been taken to Rome by the monarch Donogh, the son and successor of Brian Boroimhe, was of this description, or of the close, or the radiated kind we have no information. It may probably have been similar to that discovered in 1692, at *Barnan Eile*, or Devil's Bit Mountain, in the County of Tipperary, and subsequently carried to France by a Mr. Joseph Comerford. This crown is figured in Harris's edition of Ware [vol. i., pp. 37-65].[b] Amongst the many relics found in the Bog of Cullen, in the same county (Tipperary), described by Governor Pownall to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1774, was a *plate* of gold, supposed to be a part of a crown, which weighed 1 ounce 20 dwts. 16 qrs. [see *Archæologia*, iii.] In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, it is stated that in Kilpeacon parish, County of Limerick, a crown of gold, in the form of a shell, weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, was dug up in 1821, and sold to a goldsmith in Limerick for 18 guineas. These instances are given more to show that crowns were worn in Ireland than to illustrate the fillet which has given rise to these remarks. An article of a similar kind, and more nearly approaching that under notice, was a few years ago sold in Cork, to a jeweller named Jackson: it weighed 1 ounce 6 dwts., and was eighteen inches in length, terminating at its extremities in a hook and eye, formed of gold wire. Its general breadth was two inches, but in the centre it rose to about three inches. Its outer face was figured with leaves and berries. It was seen and examined by Mr. Lindsay, the author of the excellent and learned works on the Irish, Scotch, Saxon, and Parthian coinage; but on repeating his visit, to obtain particulars, and if possible to purchase it, he learned, to his great annoyance, that it had been melted down, and all further information regarding it was withheld.

An article more nearly approaching the Kanturk fillet in proportion and character, although less elaborate and ornate in its execution, is said to have been found near Rathkeale, in the County of Limerick, in 1855. An engraving of this is given in the *Kilkenny Proceedings* [New Series, vol. i., p. 361]. It is a smooth flat golden band, terminating in eye-holes, weighing only 3 dwts., and in

[b] It was a round cap of gold, with upturned rims, the fashion of which may be remembered in the "repeal bonnet" of the latter days of the "repeal" movement.

length sixteen inches; shewing that it was intended for the head of a child, or perhaps the neck of an adult female.

The antiquity of this species of regal head attire (if such we are justified in presuming it to be) is beyond question. The Emperor Justinian was certainly the first prince who exhibited on his coinage the *close* crown, a kind of bonnet surmounted by the cross. This would assimilate with the Barnan Eile crown, but not with our fillet-diadem. A passage in an ancient poem, published by Crofton Croker, in 1835 *(Illustrations of Moore's Irish Melodies*, p. 53*)*, versified by L. E. L., refers to an ornament of the head more akin to it. This is a description of the burial or grave of an ancient Irish hero, in which reference is made to the objects buried with him:—

"There Gollah sleeps—the golden band
About his head is bound;
His javelin in his red right hand;
His feet upon his hound."

The fresco painting on the tomb of Maelseachlain O'Kelly, in the abbey of Knockmoy, County of Galway, represents six figures (three of them skeletons) wearing the open strawberry-leafed crown, belonging to the period (1401) of O'Kelly's death. These crowns we are unable to attribute to the Irish reguli, but they were certainly the same as those bearing the arms of Ireland from before the time of Richard II. to Henry VIII., and common to the English sovereigns. See Sainthill's "*Olla Podrida.*"

From the earliest periods of Irish history, the native annals and historical poems attest the abundance of gold in the country, and the practice of the metallurgic art. A few notices in reference to these, gleaned without much pretension to completeness, in a hurried examination of miscellaneous authorities, and illustrated by modern discoveries, will lead us to an inquiry as to the sources of the wealth in gold unquestionably possessed by ancient Ireland. A closer and more laborious investigation would greatly have enlarged the materials for this inquiry, but a sufficiency has been collected to form a basis for a paper so limited in its extent as that now submitted for consideration.

Commencing with the very dawn of our traditional history, we learn that, in the retinue of Partholan, one of the primæval colonizers of Ireland, were two merchants, one named Iban, and the other Eban. It was Iban, says an old tract contained in the *Book of Ballymote*, that first imported gold into Ireland; and Eban imported goods and cattle, says one authority, or idols, according to Eochy O'Flyn:—

"Iban and Eban were
Partholans two merchants;
Iban was the first importer of gold,
Eban was the first importer of idols."

From this it may be assumed that gold had not been yet found native in Ireland.

The Tuatha de Danann, next in succession to the Belgæ, were skilful workers in metals; so much so, that of the tripartite classification of this people, artificers formed one division, the nobility and priesthood the others. It has even been supposed that their general name (Danann) was derived from *dan*, "art or handicraft." One of their deified chiefs was Goibhninn, son of Tura MacTuireall: he was the *Gobha* or smith, the Irish Vulcan, another "Wayland Smith." A brother of this able artist was Creidne, the brazier, who, like the Partholanian, Iban, imported gold:—

"Creidne, the skilful mechanic, was drowned
In the boisterous tide of the sea,
While conveying gold dust
To Ireland, from Spain."

—[*Flann of Bute in Book of Ballymote*, fo. 19.]

And again of a wealthy Tuatha de Danann Bard:—

"Cruidenbel of deceit and treachery fell;
He was the chief satirist of the Tuatha de Danann;
He possessed much of the gold found in ruined Banba, [Ireland]."

The Iberian Scoti, or Milesians, brought with them to this island an acquaintance with the working of metals equal, and probably superior, to that of their predecessors, according to the unanimous acknowledgment of our old chroniclers and bards. The discoveries of modern times give the stamp of authenticity to these ancient statements. That history would, no doubt, unless thus supported, be regarded as valueless by many who look upon such evidences with distrust; but with such corroboration, we are enabled to appeal to it with a reasonable confidence and reliance. With this race the handicraft arts were held in high esteem, and the several classes of mechanics (*cearda*, or artificers) held their allotted positions in the halls of kings, and in the households of bishops, in pagan and Christian times. Thus, in the royal hall of Miodhchuarta at Tara, we find places provided for the *humaided*, or brazier; the *gobhainn*, or smith; and the *rinnaire*, and *nascaire*, engraver and ring-maker, as well as the architect, the chariot-maker, &c. The names of the various metals in use, as well as the artificers employed in their manufacture, such as *breothinu*, *braithne*, or *bruithneoir*, a smelter, a refiner of metals, &c., may be found abundantly in our vocabularies, imperfect as these are. Gold was in principal request for articles of use or luxury. At the royal seat of Tara, vessels of this material were in abundance. Kueth O'Hartigan, a poet of the tenth century, records the wealth and splendour of the regal residence in describing the festivities of the *Teach Midhchuarta*:—

"Three hundred cup-bearers distributed
Three times fifty choice goblets
Before each party of great numbers,
Which were of pure strong carbuncle
Of gold or of silver all."

—Petrie's *Essay on Tara*.

Dr. Petrie justifies the statement by reference to the magnificent gold ornaments now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, which were found within a few yards of this very spot. "Golden vessels," he adds, "have been frequently found in Ireland; and a passage in the annotations of Tirechan, in the *Book of Armagh*, fol. 17, affords an interesting evidence of their existence anterior to the introduction of Christianity."—(Petries' *Tara*.)

One of the early monarchs of Ireland of the Milesian race was Tighearnmas, who reigned, according to O'Flaherty, in A.M. 3011. In his reign, we are told, gold was first discovered in Ireland. Flann, of the monastery of Bute, in the County of Louth, who died in 1056, informs us, in a poem on the Tuatha de Danann, preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 28, that Tighernmas was the first to introduce the purple dye, and the working of gold, and that Uachadan, of Cualan, (the modern County of Wicklow,) under him, was the artificer who refined gold in Erin:—

> "It was Tighearnmas first established in Ireland
> The art of dyeing cloth of purple and other colours,
> And the ornamenting of drinking cups and goblets,
> And breast-pins for mantles of gold and silver."

"And by his directions, Uachadan, of Cualan, was the first man of his tribe, as I record, who ingeniously introduced the operation of refining gold in this kingdom of Erin."

The place where Uachadan prosecuted his smelting labours is called by our old writers *Foithre* or Fothart, in *Airthir*, or Eastern Liffey; and the statement is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it is in this district, east of the Liffey, on the borders of Wicklow, (Feara Chualan,) and Wexford that native gold has since been found, in corroboration of the old bardic tradition. In this curious statement we cannot fail to recognize the connexion between the Scotic colony so frequently denominated *Fenian* in ancient times, and that distinguished people (the Phœnicians) from whom they partly derived their origin. Tighearnmas is said to have reigned about 80 years after the advent of the Milesian colony; and we find, thus early, an evidence of the working of mines and the manufacture of the precious metals. Elsewhere we are told of their introducing the Tyrian dye. "The purple dye from the juice of the shell-fish," says Sir Hans Sloane, "was known by tradition in Ireland down to 1688." (*Philos. Trans.*, vol. 17, p. 645, 659.)

Gold had become so abundant in Ireland in or about A.M. 3070, that Muinheamhoin, the then king, ordained that the nobility of his kingdom should wear golden collars, or torques *(muince oir)*, and chains round their necks. (Halliday's *Keating*, p. 329. O'Conor, *Rerum Hib. Scrip.*, vol. i., p. 107.) Aildergod, his son, introduced the custom amongst the nobility of wearing gold rings on the fingers. (Halliday, 328.)

Enny Airgthiach (A.M. 3168) first ordered silver shields to be made at *Argetross*, which he distributed amongst his warriors, together with horses and chariots. (*Oggyia*, p. 212.) At the same place, in three centuries after, one of his successors, Ennius or Eadna Dearg, King of Ireland

(A.M. 3482), first ordered money to be coined. (*Ogygia*, 249.) Keating, Lynch, and others, mention mints at Armagh and Cashel in the time of Saint Patrick; and at a later period, we are informed that money was coined at Clonmacnoise. Moore (*History of Ireland*, vi. 190) considers that the name of Argetross, as in many other traditions, was the sole foundation of the *fable*, but he assigns no reason for pronouncing it such. The poet-historian had probably in his mind, as money, a medallic coinage, of which, undoubtedly, the ancient Irish had none; but they had, like the Britons (as Cæsar states), an annular currency, now well known in Irish archæology as "ring-money," as surely pertaining to those times as the *torc* did to the whole Celtic race, and to the Irish especially, in every age, whether as ordained by the monarch Muinheamhoin, or worn on the judgment seat by the great Brehon Moran. We learn from the Brehon Laws, as quoted by Dr. Petrie, that the wife of Nuada Neacht, King of Leinster, at this period was accustomed to have her arm covered with rings of gold for bestowal on poets. (Petrie's *R. Towers*, 215.) These "rings" were probably armillæ or braceletes, rather than the penannular ring-money.

Within the Christian era, we are informed, that the monarch MacCon was killed by the poet Fercheas, who thrust his javelin, (called *rinene*,) through his body until it reached the pillar-stone against which the prince had leaned his back. The place where this tragedy occurred has ever since been named *Gort an Oir*, or the field of gold, from the quantity of gold there distributed by the king to the bards and ollamhs of Ireland. (O'Mahony's *Keating*, 323.)

Over Fothad Airgtheach, King of Ireland, who fell in the battle of Ollarba, in A.D. 285, was raised a cairn, containing a kistvaen, wherein his remains were laid; and with him were buried his two rings of silver, his two bracelets, and his torques of silver. On a pillar-stone near the cairn was inscribed an Ogham:—a very pagan practice, although a learned modern antiquary would attribute the invention of this character to mediæval monks plagiarising from northern Runes. It may here be remarked that articles in silver are of comparative rarity in discoveries of ancient Irish remains, whilst those in gold are abundant; and it is curious that the same excess of the latter metal prevailed in ancient Gaul, where, according to Diodorus, gold was procured from the streams, without the trouble of mining, and worn by both sexes, in bracelets, collars, and rings.

The burial of personal ornaments with King Fothad was conformable to an usage of ancient times here and in other countries, as regards persons of distinction. How extensively this practice prevailed is manifest by the frequent discoveries made in tumuli and other sepulchral remains. Traditions abound everywhere of concealed treasures, deposited in the bowels of the earth, either in connexion with the burial of the dead, or arising from the unquiet and unsettled state of the country during many ages of war and commotion. To these are too often owing the ruin and destruction of many of our most valuable and interesting national monuments. Avaricious gold-dreamers and seekers have inflicted more irreparable damage than even the desolating foreign and domestic enemy. The time-honoured barrow has been, by such agencies, ransacked and despoiled of

treasures which would have been invaluable to the historical investigator. Castles and towers of strength, venerable ecclesiastical remains, the cromlech, the rocking-stone, and the mystic phallus, have alike yielded to the destroying crowbar of ignorance and folly.

To the northern piratical freebooter was well known the usage of the burial of valuables with the dead. During the more than two centuries in which they devastated the British and Gallic coasts, they spared nothing sacred or profane, which offered a prospect of booty. Wherever they appeared, they profaned the sepulchres. In 857, they plundered the churches of Paris, and amongst others, that of St. Genevieve, in which they broke open and despoiled the stone coffins of the Merovingian Kings. (Palgrave's *Normandy and England.*) And here in Ireland, the *Four Masters* at A.D. 861, record a wholesale rifling by them of the great monuments of our illustrious dead on the shores of the Boyne, such as the cave of Achadh Aldai (supposed to be New Grange), the cave of Cnoghbhai (Knowth), the cave of the grave of Bodan, and the cave of the wife of Gobhnan, at Drogheda, which were broken and plundered by the foreigner.

A *rann*, which a harper sang to the accompaniment of his harp for a bishop of Derry, in the early part of the last century, pointed so clearly to a valuable sepulchral deposit in tho neighbourhood of Ballyshannon, that the bishop had an examination made, which resulted in the discovery of thin plates of gold. Harris, in his edition of Ware's *Antiquities*, professes to give an engraving of one of the plates, at page 126, vol. ii, but this can scarcely have been the article so discovered, which we must presume to have belonged to a buried pagan, whilst that figured in Ware bears a Greek cross incised upon it, a rather incongruous emblem for a "giant's grave." For a detailed account of this interesting verification of an ancient bardic lay, see Drummond's *Ancient Irish Minstrelsy*, pp. 42 and 279, and the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 165. Frequent instances occur of discoveries of a similar character. In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, iii. p. 98, is related "an apparition of an unusual size, and clothed in a coat of gold, which shone like the sun." This crossed the road, pursued by an old woman, on her return from Mold, in Flintshire. The vision appeared at a spot called Bryn yr Ellyllon or the Goblin's Hill, where afterwards a corslet of gold was actually found, composed of a thin solid plate of gold, three feet seven inches long, and eight inches wide in the centre, as fully described in the above reference. It lay upon human remains. The relic is now in the British Museum. Another interesting corroboration of an old romantic legend is given in a subsequent volume of the same work about the burial of Bronnen on tho banks of the Alaw in a cistvaen in Mona, which was confirmed by the discovery, in 1813, of a carnedd, with its cell, urn, and bones, on a spot still known as Ynys Bronnen, and corresponding exactly to that indicated in the old tradition.

Covering sheets of thin wrought gold appear to have been laid on the dead occasionally. In a cavern accidentally opened in 1805, near Castlemartyr, in the county of Cork, was found a human skeleton, partly covered with exceedingly thin plates of stamped or embossed gold, con-

neeted by bits of wire; one of these plates, bearing a kind of herring-bone ornament, is now in the possession of Mr. Robert Leeky, of Valeneia island, in the county of Kerry. The remainder of the gold was sold and melted in Cork, and Mr. Crofton Croker, who published these particulars in his *Researches in the South of Ireland*, p. 253, adds, that a jeweller who purchased the greater part, informed him, that the quantity he had melted was "rather more than the contents of half a coal-box." I have myself seen, some years since, a portion of similar thin elastic gold, found in an ancient grave in Ahabullog, near Cork, some miles to the west. The finder had it crumpled up in a sheet of brown paper, and stated that it formed but a small portion of what covered, like a sheet, the breast of a skeleton. With it was found a solitary specimen of gold ring-money, which I purchased. The tinsel-like gold followed the fate of the larger portion of the "find," which had been already disposed of to a silver-smith in Cork.

Gold was used for purposes of religion as well as in sepulture. The Gallic Druids, according to Strabo, wore golden torques and armillæ, as well as coloured (plaided) vesture, variegated with gold. "Gestant aureos circum collo torques et circa brachia . . ii vestes tinctas atque auro variegatas usurpant." The inference is more than a probability that the Irish Druids were similarly attired and ornamented. The *Dinseanchus* describes Magh Sleacht (*i.e.*, the Plain of Adoration, in Cavan,) as having there the principal idol of Ireland, Crom Cruach, and around it twelve stone idols; its head was of gold. (*Rerum Hib. Scr.*, Prol. 22.) St. Patrick, according to his third Life in Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 25, 46, found this idol "ex auro et argento constructum." Its name in this Life is given as *Cenverbhe*. In the fourth Life, p. 42, the idol is said to have been "auro et argento ornatum;" in the sixth Life, it is called *Cean Croithi;* and in the seventh, (by St. Evinus,) *Crom Cruach.* (*Ib.* 133.) Another rock idol, the *Cloch-oir*, or golden stone, of the phallic kind, stood where now the church of Clogher (in Tyrone) holds its place. It was said to have been oracular, and has given name to the locality. In the Fetish worship, which once was prevalent in Ireland, among the animal deities, such as the horse, swine, bull, and cow, the *Laogh Ordha*, or golden calf, formed one. Keating, in the reign of Cormac MacArt, makes particular mention of this cultus. The living animal, doubtless, had its stone or bronze representative, covered over like the Ceann Grioth, with gold.

In the will of Cathaoir Mor (king of Ireland in A.D. 174), as given in the *Book of Rights*, he bequeaths to his son Ros Failghe, 10 shields, 10 rings, 10 swords, and 10 drinking-horns; to his son Daire Barraeh, 8 bondmen and 8 women, 8 steeds, and 8 drinking-horns: or, as versified by Mangan—

> "And he gave him thereon, as memorials and meeds,
> Eight bondsmen, eight handmaids, eight cups, and eight steeds."

O'Flaherty's version, in *Ogygia*, is:—100 round spears, with silver blades; 50 shields, in cases of gold and silver, richly carved; 50 swords, of peculiar workmanship; 5 rings of gold, ten times

melted ("decies liquefacto"); 150 cloaks, variegated with Babylonian art, and seven military standards.

The generally unalloyed purity of our ancient golden relics, constantly turned up, corroborates the "decies liquefacto" of the Ogygian statement, of which, without this evidence, we might in our overstrained caution, incline to be incredulous. A portion of the Boroimhe, or tribute payable by Leinster every alternate year, to Tuathal, King of Ireland (A.D. 106), and his successors, consisted, according to an old manuscript copy of Keating in my possession, of *tri fichid uinge oir*, three score ounces of gold. In O'Connor's and O'Mahony's translations, this is rendered "three score hundred ounces of pure silver," or of "silver white." The name of Orgiall, a territory comprising the present counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan, originated in the fourth century, when the three Collas, of the race of Ir,—one of whom obtained the Irish sovereignty in A.D. 327,—stipulated with the king of Ireland that, should any of the nobles of their race be given in hostage, their shackles or fetters (if any imposed) should be of gold, *quasi*, *Or*, gold, and *giall*, hostage. The *Book of Armagh* (Tirechan) transcribed or written in the 7th century, describes, as property devoted to the church by Cummin and Breatan, three ingots or ounces of silver, a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of old gold of the dishes of their ancestors, half-an-ounce for their sons, half-an-ounce for their sheep; and they paid half-an-ounce for old vases. (Betham. *Irish Antiq. Researches*, p. 398.) Cogitosus, a writer of the sixth century, as Colgan, Ware, O'Conor, and others assert, or of the earlier part of the ninth, as Dr. Lanigan thinks, describes the monuments of Saints Bridget and Conlaeth, at Kildare, as ornamented with gold and silver, gems, and precious stones, with crowns of gold and silver suspended from above. (*Trias Thaum.* p. 523.) In the reign of Hugh (A.D. 580) the bards carried their rampant insolence so far as to claim from that monarch the golden buckle and pin which fastened the royal robes on his breast. (Walker's *Irish Bards.*) Aldfred, King of the Northumbrian Saxons, whilst in exile in Ireland, about the year 685, was known by the name of Flann Fiona, a name derived from his mother, the daughter of Colman, King of Meath. (*Rer. Hib. Scrip.* i. 188.) He has left a poem, still extant, the original of which has been published in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii., 372, and a translation by Dr. O'Donovan appeared in the first volume of the *Dublin Penny Journal*, i. 94. In this the royal exile says:—

"I found in every province there,
Of the fair provinces of Erin,
Both in Church and State,
Abundant provisions, much of raiment;
I found gold and silver;
I found honey and wheat."

In the ninth century, St. Donatus, an Irishman, bishop of Fiesole, in Italy, who died, according to Camden, in 840, testifies to the wealth of his native country in gems, vesture, and gold:—"Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis et auri:" freely translated—

——"Exhaustless is her store
Of veiny silver and of golden ore;
Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
With gems her waters," &c.

In A.D. 907, Cormac, the king-bishop of Cashel, by his will, left legacies of a large amount in gold, &c., to the principal churches in Ireland. To Armagh, 24 ounces; Cashel, 20 cups of gold; 100 ounces of silver, &c. (M'Curtin, 193.) About the same period, Saxo Grammaticus records that the Danes who had invaded this island in 879, and murdered its king, Hughlet, (*Hibernice* Aodh,) found in the royal treasury "such a quantity of money that the victors needed not to quarrel about it, since each man had as much as he could carry." It was under the domination of this people that a capitation tax called *Airgid Sron*, or Nose Money, being an ounce of gold *(uinge òir)*, was annually levied from each head of a family, or in default, he had his nose cut off. This, if strictly true, must have amounted to an immense sum, even although considering that, at the height of this people's power, it was never universal over the island. In the period of its decline, the cruelty of this tax was avenged, although after a more humane fashion, when the Irish monarch Malachy, in 988, retaliated by compelling the Danes to pay an ounce of gold for every cultivated garden which they held. This was the prince who won the "collar of gold" from Tomar, the Dane, which the poet Moore has sung of in his well-known popular melody. Their exactions in the day of their prosperity enabled this people to carry off immense treasures: this included the plunder of churches and monasteries where valuable church-plate always abounded. Their course of indiscriminate rapine was spread over more than two centuries. Yet, notwithstanding this long and wide-spread drain, enormous as we may suppose it to have been, gold still was far from scarce. If we may credit the poet MacCoise, "chief chronicler of the Gaels," who died, according to Tighernach, in 964, gold was used in the lettering upon tomb-stones. Thus, in his elegy upon his patron, Fergal O'Ruaire, he says:—

"Happy for thee, O Cluain Mac Nois.
This treasure of gold which is under thy sod,
The treasure of the poets of Inisfail
Feargal, accustomed to impose tributes.

"This red gold upon his tomb,
Which was some time since melted down upon it
Like the Sun, as he looks from the west,
Had a brilliancy like to that sun."

—*Kilkenny Proceedings*, vol. i., New Series, 341, 350.

In 1006, the great *Soisceal*, or Gospel of Columcille, was stolen at night from the western *Erdamh* of the great church of Kells. This was the principal relic of the western world, on account of its singular cover *(cumhdach)*, and it was found, after twenty nights and two months, its gold

having been stolen off it, and a sod over it. (*Four Masters*, ii., p. 759.) That great subduer of the northern marauder, Brian "the exactor of tributes," was enabled to manifest his bounty and generosity by the distribution of gold. In 1004, he remained on a hosting with his army at Armagh a whole week, and at his departure he left on the great altar of the cathedral a collar of gold, weighing twenty ounces, as alms. *(Ann. Inisfall.)* At his death, he bestowed upon the same church another twenty ounces of gold. This monarch was buried there, in 1014, and his son Donchad thereupon sent a large treasure, with jewels and other offerings, to the successor of St. Patrick and the clergy of Armagh. (*Trias Thaum.* 298.) Cian, the son-in-law of Brian, and a powerful prince, of South Munster, was equal to his great father-in-law in generosity. On one occasion we find him bestowing on the train of bards following his chief poet, MacLiag, 50 steeds, 1,000 ounces of gold, and 50 rings. Royal largesses were usually in gold, ornaments, dress, weapons, cattle, &c. MacGiolla Caoimh informed the monarch Brian, after returning from a long sojourn with Hugh O'Neill, that he had received, as presents from O'Neill, 200 cows and 10 horses, and 9 ounces of gold, &c. (From the *Leabhar Oiris*, extracted by Hardiman, *Irish Minst.* ii., 368.)

In 1029, Amlaff, Lord of the Danes, captured by Mahon O'Riagain, Lord of Bregia, paid for his ransom, besides cows and horses, three score ounces of gold, sixty ounces of white silver, &c. In 1073, the head of Connor O'Maolseachlain, King of Meath, which had been buried at Clonmacnoise, was forcibly removed by Toirdealbhach O'Brien, who took it away to Kincora; but the same was restored on the following Sunday, with two collars of gold around the neck, for when the head was brought before O'Brien a mouse issued from it, and other marvels had occurred.

Connor na Catharach, who began his reign over Munster in 1127, and died in 1142, subscribed, according to Cambrensis Eversus, cap. 21, quoting from a chronicle of the Irish monks at Ratisbon, large sums in gold and silver, for the repair of the Irish monastery of St. James, at that place. The same king sent presents of great value by some lords of high rank and power, who had taken the cross ("cruce signatso,") and were on their way to Jerusalem, in aid of the crusades, to Lothaire II., (the Saxon) King of the Romans, and afterwards Emperor of Germany. In 1140, Tireldach, King of Ireland, made great presents to the churches of Clonmacnois, distributing among their clergy his vessels of gold and silver, and also his jewels and musical instruments; and at the time of his decease, he bequeathed to them 540 ounces of pure gold, and forty marks of silver. (Camb. Evers. ii., 61, and O'Halloran, Int. 118, 213.) In 1151, Toirdhealbhach O'Brien went to Limerick, and took with him many jewels, besides drinking-goblets of Brian Boroimhe—*i.e.*, ten score ounces of gold, and sixty beautiful jewels, besides the drinking-horn of Brian Boroimhe. (*Four Masters*, p. 1101.) In the same year, Gelasius, or Gildas, Primate of Ireland, made a visitation of Connaught, and received from O'Connor, its king, a torque or ring of gold weighing 20 ounces. (*Four Masters*, p. 1095.) 1152, Tordelvach O'Connor, King of Ireland, invaded Munster, and defeated the Momonians at Monimore. The leader of the Momonians fled, but subsequently gave to the king for his ransom

60 ounces of gold, as many golden braceletes, and a golden cup, called the cup of Brian Borumha. (*Annals of Ulster.*) 1151, Cu Uladh Ua Lainn, Lord of Siolcathasaich, presented to O'Brolchan, abbot of Derry, besides other gifts, a ring of gold of 2 ounces. (*Four Masters*, p. 1097.) 1153, the same O'Brolchain made a visitation, and amongst other presents, obtained an ounce of gold from the wife of O'Dunsleibhe. (*Ib.*, p. 1105.) 1155, Tordelvach O'Connor, King of Ireland, died and bequeathed to the clergy of Ireland 65 ounces of gold, 60 marks of silver, together with all his jewels. (*O'Halloran*, vol. ii., p. 316) This monarch, according to Lynch in *Cambrensis Eversus*, erected a royal mint at Clonmacnois [ii, 62]. 1157, Murchertach O'Lochlainn, King of Ireland, granted 60 ounces of gold to the abbey church of Mellifont, upon its consecration, for the health of his soul. Donal O'Carroll, King of Ergall or Uriell, and Dervorgilla, wife of Tiarnan Rourke (the too celebrated Irish Helen of Diarmaid MacMurrough), in like manner gave 60 ounces each, the lady adding a golden chalice for the high altar. [*Acta.* SS. p. 665, and *Trias Thaum.* p. 309.] In the following year, the primate Gelasius bestowed a similar gift of 60 ounces of gold on the same church. 1161, Flaithbheartach O'Brolchan made another visitation, and proceeded into Ossory. The tribute due to him was seven score oxen, but he selected, as a substitute for them, 420 ounces of pure silver. [*Four Masters*, p. 1143.] In the *Ulster Annals*, these are called 81 ounces of pure gold. 1197, the great church of Derry, Templemore, was plundered by one of the Ciannaghts named MacEtig, who carried away "the four richest goblets in Ireland, which he broke up, and took off their jewels, for which, when apprehended, he was hanged. [*Four Masters.*]

Cambrensis, about the same period, asserts the abundance of gold in Ireland, "Aurum quoque quo abundat insula," [*Hib. Expug.*, l. 2, c. 15,] and he reproaches the Irish for not working their mines of metals, thirsting after gold as they do. He at the same time tells us that it was imported here by the Ostmen merchants, who roam about the ocean in quest of traffic. [*Topog. Hib. Dist.* 3, c. 10.]

Long after the Norman settlement, we find the little Parliament of the Pale prohibiting the use of gold in horse-furniture, except to persons of certain rank. Thus in a statute of a parliament held at Trim in 1477 (25th Hen. 6), it is recited, that "the making of gilt bridals and peytrells hath wasted and consumed the gold, and is likely to do more hereafter, if it be not speedily remedied;" and it is enacted in accordance, "that no man be so hardy henceforward to use any gilt bridles, peytrells, nor any other gilt harneys, in no place of the said land, excepted knights and prelates of holy church." Defaulters, self and horse, to be taken by the person finding them. In the same Parliament, it was likewise enacted that all bullion exported from Ireland should pay forty pence per ounce custom duty to the king. [Ware.]

The foregoing details, imperfect and limited as they are, and collected without any pretension to completeness, from our ancient chronicles and historic authorities, bear upon them an impress of reliable veracity, an absence of exaggeration which commend them to our fullest acceptance; they

lay no claim to any extraordinary amount of wealth or abundance of the precious metals, and will, moreover, be found borne out by modern discoveries occurring in every part of the island. The amount of these would, indeed, appear to be quite incredible, if we had not ample evidence as to their reality. The museums, public and private, not only of Ireland, but also of England and Scotland, as well as of foreign countries, have been enriched by discoveries made in Ireland, and generally sold out of it, and astonish by their extent and variety, especially when compared with similar collections of local antiquities peculiar to foreign kingdoms. Not even the well endowed and long established museums of northern Europe, or of Italy itself, can surpass those of Ireland in their collections of golden antiquities peculiarly their own.[c] When to this we would add the far larger quantities which have been melted down in the crucible, to avoid claims under the law of Treasure Trove, we may readily concede to the old bardic narrator credit for a judicious and well guarded moderation.

From the preceding notices we may now turn to such records of discoveries as are at present attainable. These only belong to the two last and present centuries, within which period the attention of our writers seems to have been only occasionally directed to such circumstances. These, we may confidently affirm, embrace but a very small proportion of the actual discoveries made; but, meagre and limited as they are, they very completely authenticate the averments of our primeval records, and offer a reliable basis for the speculations and conclusions of those who would seek to elucidate the progress and the art attainments of ancient Ireland. The great proportion of the treasures which have been exhumed consists of ornaments of dress, such as crowns, torques, armillæ, corslets, rings, fibulæ, chains, &c., as well as plates, cups, tubes, ingots, and nondescript objects of unknown or conjectural use. These have been sometimes found in hoards, miscellaneous in character, and as frequently singly. Bogs and moorland wastes have proved very general sites, and amongst the great variety of articles the ring-money and the tore have been met with in most abundance.

The earliest notice of a gold discovery known to the writer seems to be the statement that Lord Strafford, during his administration of the government of Ireland, sent to Charles I. the bit of a bridle made of solid gold, weighing 10 ounces, found in a bog. Sir John Piers, in his description of Westmeath (*Col. de Reb. Hib.*, i., p. 52), relates that, before 1641, a gentleman digging in a bog found some links of an ancient gold chain, "and more surprising, the bowl and a piece of a stem of a tobacco pipe."

[c] The Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, now probably one of the richest in Europe in gold antiquities, had scarcely an existence in 1839. Mr. Wilde, an excellent authority on such a subject, states that the gold collection in the British Museum is chiefly Irish. He adds, that "the amount of gold found in Ireland during the past century would, if now forthcoming, considerably exceed that of all the antiquarian museums in Europe, except those of Rome." Sir Richard Hoare confesses that our golden remains are richer and more numerous than those of England.

An account of a larger "find," in 1673, may be found in the deposition of one Kate Moylony, given in the *Kilkenny Proceedings*, 2nd volume, New Series, p. 207, wherein she relates that there was then in the possession of Farrell McMorris, of Ballickmorish (Queen's County), "a yard of pure gold, completely wrought, about 28 inches long, and as thick as deponent's middle finger; and one great ring, that might compass any man's head with his hatt on, and each of the three loopes near as long as her finger, and much of the same thickness; and another ring, of lesse compasse, plain and round; and another peece in the figure of a paire of tongues, two spans long, and of equall thickness with the yard."

The first great "find" of which we have any account, was that discovered in the bog of Cullen, near the town of Tipperary, between the years 1731 and 1773, of which an account was furnished to the London Society of Antiquaries, by Governor Pownall, in 1774. This consisted of weapons of bronze, and articles of ornament made of gold, and of great variety in bulk and weight. As concealment seemed a special object with the finders, the particulars are extremely defective and scanty; but there is reason to believe that the amount and number of the articles found was extraordinarily large. This gentleman (Governor Pownall) communicated to the same society, on another occasion, the finding of a golden vessel of the goblet kind, which would contain about a pint. It weighed 10oz. 12dwts. 23grs.

The next in importance was a discovery made in 1854. The hoard was found during the construction of the Limerick and Ennis line of railway, near the lake of *Mooghaun*, or Loughatraska, about two miles from Newmarket-on-Fergus, and within a short distance of the extraordinary ancient cyclopean remains figured on the Ordnance Map '42, Clare.' It was contained in a small cist or stone chamber, under an ancient cairn at a slight depth below the surface, and, like that of Cullen, was composed of various articles, but principally of ring-money, torcs, bracelets, ingots, &c. The discovery was made by one of the railway labourers, who had remained behind after his companions had gone to dinner. The first article turned up by him was a specimen of ring-money, which, having carelessly looked at, he flung into the lough as valueless. In removing more of the stones, a similar piece of gold was exposed, which he treated in the same way. Meantime, continuing his operations, some of the navvies had returned, and one of them took a few of the pieces with him to the village, where they were reported to be gold. A general rush was now made to the spot: a fierce scramble ensued, and an almost incredible quantity of the precious deposit was exhumed. The Rev. Doctor Neligan, of Cork, was one of the first scientific strangers who obtained a sight of some of this large treasure, and to his kindness I am indebted for the following note:—"A day or two after, the matter was reported to me, and I hurried to Limerick, where I heard that large quantities of the gold were disposed of. Being anxious to procure some for my late friend, Lord Londesborough, and having purchased about £60 worth, consisting of various specimens of ring-money, and three of the lunette-shaped pieces, I was told that so vast was

the quantity of gold, that wheel-barrows were employed in carrying it off. Men were seen with hats full, and women with laden aprons of it. I was informed that one party in Limerick purchased between £200 and £300 worth the night before for £40, and immediately melted it down. Also, that four men went to America with about £6,000 worth each:—I give the story as it was related to me. Being in Dublin a short time after, I saw 90 ounces of this very gold brought into a silversmith's shop, and sold at once. I saw at another silversmith's about 30 ounces. And I saw a large quantity, consisting of ring-money and lunettes, produced at a soiree of the Royal Irish Academy, when Dr. Todd gave some interesting details as to this 'find.' I heard since that there was a tradition that some celebrated Irish chieftain and his followers had been massacred on that spot." Mr. Wilde has stated that the Academy had purchased about £300 worth of this gold.

Of the articles which passed through the hands of Dr. Neligan, as above mentioned by him, two were very rare, if not unique, varieties of the lunette, perfectly plain, and unornamented, of a hollow and convex form, broad in the centre and tapering towards the extremities, terminating, like the ring-money, in flattened ends. One weighed 4 oz. 13 dwts. 4 grs., the other 3 oz. 10 dwts. The ring-money presented several fine specimens. One was a triangular bar, with flat inner surface, a type of great rarity. Another, weighing 1 oz. 12 dwts. 8 grs., was formed from a quadrangular bar, bent into the usual form. There was a piece of fine gold twisted wire similarly bent. Lord Talbot de Malahide, in a paper upon this subject, read by him at a meeting of the Cambridge Archæological Society, pronounced that this gold came from the Wicklow Mountains.

Mr. Clibborn, curator of the Royal Irish Academy, mentioned in a letter published by him last year in the *Athenæum*, a discovery made at Athlone, which realized over £27,000; but which was altogether lost to science. In Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, iii., p. 46, it is stated that in the parish of that name (Athlone) several lunettes or crescents of gold were found in the early part of the present century, in a bog near the town, which, with some other articles of the same metal, were sold to a jeweller in Dublin for the sum of £858, and, for want of a purchaser of antiquarian taste, were melted down for more common uses. Hamilton, *Letters on Antrim*, p. 41, says, that within his own knowledge, golden ornaments have been found in the bogs to the amount of £1,000 in value. In a Magazine, entitled *Ireland's Mirror*, for November, 1804, is a drawing of a "musical instrument of pure gold, thrown up by the sea at Youghal, Cork, in 1800. At each end of the curved shank were two bell-shaped hollow cups, about six inches deep and three inches diameter. These were suspended by means of rings to the shank, and shook at the least movement. Within the bells evidently had been tongues or clappers. This was a bell crotaculum, used by the ladies in accompanying the singing or dancing." The basis of the strand at Youghal is a turf bog, sometimes uncovered by the washing away by the sea of the upper surface of sand. In the same Plate is a representation of a bracelet of pure gold, found with some others in a bog near Mallow, in 1799. They were thin and chased into rings, having on the smooth or plain parts faint traces of ornamental lines. There

were some holes drilled in the edges, by which they were made fast to the drapery or sleeve. The number of these found were sold to a goldsmith in Cork for £48. In the *Dublin Penny Journal*, No. 122, is noticed a discovery of eleven balls of pure gold on the western banks of the Shannon, of which a drawing is given: their entire weight was 20 ounces 8 dwts. In a *Lios* at Rathkenny, near Cootehill, Cavan, says Lewis *(Topog. Dict.)*, was found a considerable treasure, together with a gold fibula. In 1817, in ploughing a field in Island Magee, Antrim, a piece of pure gold was found, 11 inches in length, shaped like a cork screw: (*Newry Mag.*, iii. 508.)—wreathed or spirally twisted doubtless the writer intended to say. In 1841 a farmer found, in a bog at Kinnigo, near Armagh, a *bulla* made of fine gold. Its sides were covered with fine twisted wire, ending in loops at the top. With it were several celts, spears, rings, &c. (*Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1841, p. 82.)

From this short enumeration, we may turn to a more specific reference to the *Torc*, which, amongst all the golden discoveries made in Ireland, is generally found, after ring-money, the most numerous and abundant. The abundance is the less remarkable when we remember that, as a personal ornament, the tore (called in Irish *muin-torc, i.e.*, a neck collar,) was common to all the Celtic nations, and regarded as even peculiar to them. Those of that race in contact with the early Romans were distinguished by the wearing of this ornament. In the year of Rome 393, young Titus Manlius slew in single combat, upon the bridge of the Anio, near Rome, a Gaulish champion of gigantic stature, and after beheading him, bore off his golden torque, and, bloody as it was, placed it on his own neck, whence he received the cognomen of Torquatus. (Livy, l. vii. c. 10.) Amongst the spoils taken by Marcellus from the Insubrian Gauls, B.C. 196, were several golden torques. Virgil alludes to the same practice of wearing this neck ornament:—

> "Aurea cæsaries ollis, atque aura vestis,
> Virgatis lucent sagulis; tum lactea colla
> Aura innectuntur."—*Æneid*, viii. 660.

> "The gold dissembled with the yellow hair;
> And golden chains on the white neck they wear.
> Gold are their vests."—*Dryden*.

The ancient Armoricans wore similar ornaments. A splendid collection of tores, twelve in number, and worth £1,000 sterling as pure gold, was found in Brittany in 1832. These are said to have been of the lunar form.

In Ireland, the torc was worn from the earliest ages, by both sexes, down to the seventeenth century, when we are informed by Good (in Camden, Gough's edit., v. iv., p. 471), "The women wrap many yards of linen around their heads, and rather load than adorn their necks with *collars*, and their arms with bracelets." Moran, the chief Brehon or judge of the monarch Feradhach Fionfachtnach (or the Just), who reigned in the first century of the Christian era, was said to wear a wonderful collar *(Iodh)* possessed of the very valuable quality for a judge of expanding or con-

tracting according as its wearer decided equitably or otherwise. On the breast of the just judge it hung loosely, but on the unjust it would shrink until it had nearly strangled him. It was also used to test the integrity of witnesses, and would by this quality of shrinking extort the truth. Vallancey has published an engraving of what he calls the *Iodhan*, or breast-plate of judgment of the great Brehon. It was found in a bog in the county of Limerick, is crescent-like in form, and made of thin elastic gold. Its virtue, however, had departed, so that neither judge nor witness of the present day need fear its powers of strangulation. We may remark that, among the ancient Egyptians, the President of the College of Justice wore a golden collar, set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, called the emblem of truth. (Rollin, 31.) In the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, as heretofore mentioned, we are informed that with Eochaidh Airgtheach, king of Ireland in the third century, were buried his silver tore and armillæ.

As may be presumed, the tore was of various patterns, proportions, and value, according to the rank and means of its owner. Representations of it may be found in Gough's *Camden*, Mr. Birch's article in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii., the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v., &c. Some of these consist merely of a plain band, or one of more elaborate workmanship, like one in the cabinet of Mr. Hewitt, of Cork, and terminating in open rings. Mr. Birch considers that articles of this description imply a greater state of refinement and mechanical knowledge than the open and bulbous ends. Other specimens are formed of an elaborately twisted bar bent to its object, and a third class presents a crescent or lunar shape, thin and elastic in its material, and ending at the points in small rounded plates. Those of the first class are rare. Those of the second or spiral figure are also comparatively scarce. Two of this description were found at Tara, in 1810, and are now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Drawings of them have been given in Dr. Petrie's able account of the celebrated locality in which they were discovered. One of them measures 5 feet 7 inches, and weighs 27 oz. 9 dwts. The other weighs 12 oz. 6 dwts. A tore very similar to these was in the collection of the late Redmond Anthony, of Pilltown, in 1846. Another, which was coiled up like a wax taper, belonged to the Rev. Dr. Neligan, of Cork, in 1857. Two others, of a different form, were found a few years ago, in the County of Wexford. One was flat, quadrilateral, plain, and untwisted. This was over twenty-seven inches in length, and weighed nine ounces. The other was of smaller size; its length, 16 inches, and weight 5 ounces. Both were of the purest gold. Their intrinsic value was £56 15s. (Drummond's *Ancient Irish Minstrelsy*, p. 283.) A funicular tore was found in a rath, in Connemara. (*Archæologia*, xv., p. 394.) Another was found in 1821, near Belfast. (Lewis's *Topog. Dict.*, 12.)

Mr. Birch, in his excellent article upon the torques, is of opinion that the earliest kind were penannular and bulbous. Those of the crescent form are generally ornamented, and are supposed to be peculiar to Ireland. Specimens of this class, however, found in the County of Clare, were perfectly plain. So also was another, discovered in the parish of Dungiven (County Derry,) in 1814.

It was formed of thin leaf, and had flattened terminations. (Mason's *Parochial Survey*, i., p. 304.) One in the possession of the Marquis of Kildare is formed of four gold bands, not perfectly connected together in several places, and exhibiting a very marked difference in its construction from those twisted ornaments found in Ireland, and resembling those of Africa. (*Proceed. R. I. Acad.*, iii., p. 99.) Such as are of a more decorated character are ornamented towards the extremities by incised lines, the spaces between divided into compartments, alternating with plain vertical lines, or lines crossing each other obliquely, and bordered with the well-known chevron or Van Dyck ornament. One of this class is in the museum of Sir Thomas Tobin, at Ballincollig, near Cork, hereinafter more particularly described. Another, very similar, formerly belonged to the Rev. Dr. Neligan, of the same city. Others of this class are very sparingly decorated. Dubourdieu (*Down*, p. 301) mentions a lunette dug up from a bog in the barony of Castlereagh, which passed into the hands of the Downshire family. Its only ornament was a narrow waving line, cut along the edge. A torque of gold, with a quadrangular row of pellets, was found, with another more solid article of the same kind, but unornamented, near the castle of Trimblestown, County of Meath. *(Dublin Penny Journal.)* Mr. Birch designates torques of the crescent form as *gorgets*. Amongst the varieties of the torc was one formerly in the possession of the late Redmond Anthony, of Pilltown, Kilkenny. This was the smallest hitherto known in Ireland. It measured only $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Its breadth, at the widest part, was $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, weight 16 dwts. 15 grs. It was engraved with zig-zag lines. *(Archæological Journal.)* In ancient Gaul, and, in all probability, amongst ourselves, the lunette was regarded as a religious emblem. Strabo and Pliny describe Druids as wearing a collar about the neck, and bracelets around the wrists and above the elbow. Montfaucon (vol. ii., 276) has given an engraving of two figures, one male, the other female, found at Autun, in France; the former bears in his right hand a lunette without the flattened ends, whilst the female wears one as an ornament of the head, the ornamentation of which consists of a series of radiations. It is scarcely necessary to mention that the moon was an object of adoration amongst all ancient pagan nations. Dean (*Worship of the Serpent*, p. 370) conjectures that the torque, as well as the horse-shoe, to which a superstitious virtue is still attached, were Arkite symbols, as representations of the moon, the emblem of the ark. In a temple at Luxor, in Egypt, is a "bari" (ship) containing an image seated in a lozenge-shaped shrine. This has a circle on each horn of the crescent. (Harcourt's *Deluge*, ii., 391.) The same writer informs us that the Druids used to wear the lunette on their garments, or carry it in their hands. The same lunar ornament repeatedly occurs on the British coins. Two antique golden crescents, of a very large size, were found, about the year 1821, in the neighbourhood of Belfast, near the remains of two Druidical altars; they were of pure gold, and weighed about six ounces each. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1821, p. 157.) Three other lunettes, of the same metal, were discovered, also beneath a cromleac, now demolished, at Cairnlochran, in the County of Antrim. (See *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. iv., p. 295.) Vallancey calls articles of this kind by the name of *cead raire*. But be the

religious appropriation of this form of the torc what it may, there seems to be no doubt but that it was in very general use for lay purposes also, as an ornamental adjunct of fashionable costume, and worn probably in two distinct ways: by the men, doubtless, round the neck, or hanging from it on the breast; and by the women, either as a gorget or as a frontlet on the head. In the former use, it was probably designated *muin* (or neck) torc, to distinguish it from its later or secondary purpose. From its greater delicacy and comparative lightness, Mr. Birch considers it to have been an article of female attire, but his conjecture rests upon no sufficient authority. To my mind, it would seem as if it were common to both sexes, as in the case of the ancient figures found at Autun.

The following are notices of discoveries of torques. Dubourdieu, in his *Statistical Account of Down*, p. 302, mentions a large number of gold remains, supposed to have been ecclesiastical, found near Ahaderig church, in that county. One article would appear to have been a twisted torque. Stewart, *History of Armagh*, p. 604, mentions a "gorget" in the possession of the Rev. Francis Gervais, rector of Tartarraghan. It is described as elegantly adorned with a kind of chase-work engraving, and was found in 1816 at Tullynafoile, barony of Clogher, county Tyrone. See another account of, evidently, the same article, in the *Newry Magazine*, ii., p. 74. A like "gorget" is stated to have been in the cabinet of Mr. Thomas Lindley, of Armagh. Sir Thomas Tobin, of Ballincollig, near Cork, has in his possession a golden lunette, found, it is said, at a depth of several feet, on Mangerton mountain (Kerry), in 1842. This he obtained from Captain Tooker, of Cork, who purchased it from the original finder. It weighs 1 oz. 18 dwts., and consists of a thin, ductile leaf, terminating in rounded, flattened extremities. One of its surfaces is covered with scored lines in various patterns, vertical, crossed, and of the chevron pattern, in compartments.

In 1852, a small treasure, consisting of six gold torques, &c., was found near Limerick, which was exhibited at the Cork Exhibition in the same year, by the Rev. Mr. O'Higgins. They were subsequently purchased by the late Lord Londesborough for £30. This nobleman also possessed in his valuable museum another specimen of the lunette, found at Ardrah, in Donegal. It was very thin, and decorated with a slightly incised ornament in simple lines. [Pl. 17, *Miscellanea Graphica.*]

An engraved torque, about twenty-six inches in circumference, and, at the widest part, two and a-half inches broad, and weighing two and a-half ounces, was dug up, a few years since, near Armagh. [Newspaper.] From its greater delicacy or comparative lightness, Mr. Birch considers the Torc to have been an article especially of female attire; but this would be a limitation of its use not probable, although it may have been a secondary one. We are not, indeed, sufficiently informed to pronounce upon any distinct figure or form of the torc peculiar to either sex. His opinion that the torc was of oriental origin, seems better entitled to our acceptance. The Irish themselves, reaching their western destination through Spain, from the East, brought with them much in manners, religion, costume, &c. common to them and to the Indo-Scythæ, Phœnicians, &c.; and, doubtless, the wearing of the gorget, either as a torc or frontlet, which was a well-known practice, from the most remote anti-

quity, in India, Syria, Egypt, &c., was one of these usages. Joseph was decorated with a tore as a mark of honour: "Pharaoh arrayed Joseph in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold *chain* about his neck," [*Gen.* xli. 42,] or, as given in the Latin version, "et collo *torquem* auream circumposuit." [See the edition printed at Strasburgh, in 1481.] Gideon, after the defeat of the Midianites, caused the men of Jorad "to deliver to him of the ear-rings of their prey, which they had taken, besides the ornaments, collars, and purple raiment of the kings of Midian." [*Judges*, viii. 26.] Pendant lunulæ also formed a part of the rich ornaments of the Jewish women, and it seems they are still worn by unmarried Jewish ladies on the forehead. These may be similar to the "round tires like the moon" of Scripture, which are supposed by M. le Prince to assimilate to the lunulæ or crescent-like tiaras or head-dresses so conspicuously worn by some women in Muscovy. [See Calmet's *Fragments*, vol. iv., pp. 369-371.] We frequently find tores, something like our lunulæ, on Egyptian figures, as on a tomb in the British Museum. [See *Archæol.* vol. 29.] Torques, bracelets, and brooches, very Irish in character, form a general and favourite portion of female ornament amongst Jewish as well as Moorish women in Morocco and Barbary at the present day; and we are told, on the authority of a writer in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., that the lunette is now worn in Scinde, a country little given to change in habit or attire, and unconquerably attached to ancient usages. This writer would attribute the introduction of articles of this description, in various countries, to "Sephardim Jews," exiled in the fourth century. But his theory does not seem based upon any sound authority. Even accepting it to some extent, it would not be difficult to associate in this species of manufacture and commerce, the ancient Phœnicians and their colonies of Carthage. Phœnicia and Judea were adjoining territories, their people in close intercourse with each other, and speaking a language differing only dialectically. The transmission of the tore from the east by one emigrating route—the Mediterranean—may also be traced through Greece, where, in Corfu, brides still wear the lunette as a frontlet at wedding ceremonies; and through Spain, where the ladies are much given to their use.

The torque seems to have been unknown to the Teutonic nations. In the various articles discovered in the Saxon cemetery of Little Wilbraham, explored by the Hon. Mr. Neville, there was not a single tore, although necklaces were found.

Perhaps of all our ancient golden treasures, the ring-money, sometimes styled fibula, forms the largest class. An enumeration of specimens discovered and recorded would occupy a space far beyond the limits assigned to this paper. The great abundance of these remains would, of itself, indicate their general use as a commercial medium, had we no better or historical evidences of this adscription. The precious metals, as well as bronze and iron, passed current in ancient Britain and Ireland. We have the testimony of Cæsar as to the former country, and as to the latter, that of our native writings, such as the Brehon Laws, in which money is mentioned as payable by weight. We have also the analogy of ancient and modern use in Asia and Africa. Rings were amongst the

tributes paid by subordinate chiefs to superior lords, and amongst the stipend paid by the latter to the former, as we learn from the *Book of Rights*, and Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. Although desirous of passing over any minute details of discoveries in this class, I may, however, be excused for recording a few instances of a larger species which I have met with. Sir William Betham mentions (*Irish Antiquarian Researches*, i. p. 11), that he had offered to him for sale an article of this kind, which, in his early inexperience, before he had attained a knowledge of ring-money, he calls "a kind of double bell." This weighed *thirty-six* ounces of pure gold.

Dubourdieu (*Antrim*, p. 585), gives an engraving of a large "double patera of gold," found at Ballymoney (Antrim), and sold in Dublin. It is of the ring-money type, and of elegant form and workmanship. Its length was 11½ inches, and weight 19 oz. 10 dwts. Vallancey, who communicated an account of this curious article to the author, states that the goldsmith, Delander, who purchased it, had sold golden bracelets, found in Roscommon, to the Marquis of Landsdowne, for the sum of £1,200. A large and solid specimen of ring-money, found near Fermoy, in 1857, was purchased by Mr. Tate, a jeweller in Cork, for a sum of £52 16s. 10d. It weighed 13 oz., but had been originally heavier, as, when it came into Mr. T.'s hands, the terminating expansions had been cut off. The gold was 19 carats fine. Failing to procure a purchaser for it, Mr. Tate melted it down, after it had lain on his hands a much longer time than was desirable to him. A magnificent gold fibula was, in November, 1859, described in the newspapers by Mr. Wilde, which must have been one of peculiar interest, that gentleman regarding it as the third in size hitherto known in Ireland. It weighed 12 oz. 13 dwts., and was found in the County of Tipperary. It was cut up by its ignorant finders with a *hand-saw*, for division, and after this barbarous mutilation, was dispersed, and subsequently melted down, to the great discredit of parties who could have rescued it from such a fate.

Corslets are of frequent occurrence. Walker (*Dress of the Irish*, p. 177,) mentions one found near Lismore, which was bought by a Cork goldsmith, for the large sum of £600. Smith, *History of Kerry*, p. 186, relates that a few years before 1756, when he published his work, several corslets of pure gold were discovered on the lands of Clonties, in that county, part of which, worth £26, came to the share of the landlord, Wm. Mullins, Esq., on whose estate they were found. Of similar corslets, O'Halloran (*Introd. Hist. of Ireland*. p. 210) says he had seen above twenty, and purchased one himself.

Bracelets or armillæ, in like manner, are occasionally found. Bishop Pococke presented one to the London Society of Antiquaries, composed of three hoops soldered together, with a narrow rim or border, somewhat ornamented. It weighed 3½ oz. 12 grs., and was in height 1¾ inch; its longest diameter, within, 3½ inches, shortest, 2¾ inches, the swell or bulge, ¼ inch. The late Mr. Anthony, of Pilltown (Kilkenny), possessed a gold armilla dug up at Virginia, in the County of Cavan, in 1833. It was a beautiful and elaborate specimen, of funicular or corded work, weighing 1 oz. 15 dwts. 6 grs. It was exactly of similar workmanship to a torc belonging to his collection found near Waterford, which weighed 8 dwts. 6 grs. See *Archæological Journal*, v., 155. At Battlefield, in Kildare,

several of these articles, and other gold ornaments, of considerable value, were discovered in 1858. Armillæ consist generally of solid rings, either plain or ornamented, but sometimes these are penannular. Some have been found folded round on the double (spirally). Sometimes the bar or band is also twisted in circlets of funicular fashion. Large rings have frequently been found in ancient sepulchres, encircling the thigh bones of skeletons. In 1860, a pair of plain bracelets were accidentally turned up in the kitchen-garden of Glengariff Castle (the residence of R.H.E.White, Esq.), one weighing 2 oz. 16 dwts. 6 grs., and the other 2 oz. 1 dwt. 15 grs.; they remain at present in the possession of Mr. White, and consist of flattened bands bent into the circular form, but open at the junction of the two extremities. They are perfectly plain, and unornamented. It is suspected that other remains of the like valuable character were afterwards found nearly in the same situation, but the finders have kept their own secret.

Mr. James Graves, of Cork, possessed, in 1857, an armlet of a rare description, since published in the *Kilkenny Transactions*, vol. i. (N.S.) p. 254, as a specimen of ring-money. Its weight was 1 oz. 10 dwts. It terminated in hooks. The front was broad, and ornamented with a double series of pellets, alternately large and small.

Fibulæ, or brooches of gold, are comparatively rare. Perhaps the most curious and interesting specimen of this class is what has been called the "Dalriada Brooch," published in this *Journal* (vol. iv. p. 1). Its weight is 2 oz. 6 dwts. 18 grs. This was found in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, (County Derry) in 1855.

I shall now conclude this portion of my subject by noting those thin ductile plates of gold, of which a more detailed account has already appeared in this *Journal*, vol. iv. p. 164. One of these in the possession of Mr. Thomas Swanton, of Crannliath (West Riding of Cork), was found near Ballydehob, in 1844, with two or three similar pieces and articles of ring-money. It weighs 12 grs. 0½ dwt., and has stamped upon it the figure of the cross. [See also, *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 244.] The late Redmond Anthony possessed two disks, nearly similar in character, and ornamented crucially. Another is given in C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*. This was found at Castle Treasure, near Cork, and weighed 1 dwt. 10 grs. In the *Dublin Penny Journal*, i., 244, an engraving is given of one in the cabinet of Dr. Petrie, said to have been found in the County of Roscommon, with another of the same kind. This also bears a Cross, of the Greek or Maltese form, so frequent on early Irish Christian monuments, and which long preceded the institution of the Order of the Knights of Malta.

Were we to refer to passages in our ancient Poems and Romances, we might much enlarge this enumeration with instances of golden shields, helmets, sword handles, embroidered dress, &c., but although faithful these notices, perhaps to ancient costume, &c., we need not enlist them for our present purpose, having doubtless shown enough to warrant such conclusions as we shall endeavour to draw in a subsequent paper.

Cork, January, 1861. JOHN WINDELE.

A
B
C

# ANCIENT IRISH CROZIER.

The interesting Crozier, of which a drawing is here given, is the property of Mr. Daniel Galvin, a farmer residing near Glenarm (County of Antrim), who knows of its history nothing more than that, for several generations it has been in the possession of his family, which was formerly located near Cushindun. Unfortunately, there is on it no inscription by which it can be identified as the pastoral staff of any of our early ecclesiastics; but that it is Irish, is apparent from the style of its ornamentation, so common to our croziers, our shrines, and in general, to all our ecclesiastical antiquities. Like all Irish croziers, it consists of a wooden staff,—probably the simple crozier of its original possessor—which is protected by a covering of bronze, terminating in a crook, and ornamented with two bands. The original wooden staff does not extend into the crook, which is hollow. The crozier head is overlaid with thin plates of silver, and was once surmounted by a cresting, which seems to have been ornamented with the interlaced decoration known to antiquaries as the "opus Hibernicum." Only a small part of this cresting remains: however, the rivet-holes still mark the place it once occupied. On each side of the cresting are three stones, or perhaps pieces of enamel; four similar ornaments are set around the lower part of the crook, immediately above the upper band; other stones are set in the centres of three crosses, which ornament the sides of the curve; and the setting of a large stone still remains over the head of an ecclesiastical figure in the front of the crook. An oblong piece of silver, occupying the concave portion of the crook, is ornamented with a series of figures similar to that on the front, except that, over the head of each, instead of a precious stone there is a kind of nimbus. The ornamentation on the crook is stamped on thin plates of silver, and the same ornament is several times repeated and adjusted to different portions of the crook. One of the most frequently repeated figures is the head of a sheep, which is represented as browsing on a trefoil plant. Another ornament occurring several times is a dog's head. One of these is sculptured at each extremity of the cresting, but it would be difficult to determine the species of dog which the artist intended.

What the original length of this crozier was, we can only infer from other examples which have come down to us in a better state of preservation. His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman posesses an ancient Irish crozier, which was found in the apartments of a law student in London, where it is supposed to have been left by some previous occupant. In form, and general style of ornamentation, it resembles our Glenarm specimen, and indeed all our ancient Irish croziers. It consists of a crook, a staff divided into three divisions by four bands, and a foot-spike: the foot-spike is peculiar as terminating in three little points; all other croziers terminate in a single point. Ecclesiastical writers

have discovered, in the division of the crozier into crook, staff, and point, a symbolism of the three principal duties of a bishop,—to bring back the erring members of his flock, to govern his Church, and to punish the refractory.—"Curva trahit, recta regit, pars ultima pungit." Few readers of Irish history have not met with the celebrated anecdote of Ængus, King of Cashel, whose foot was pierced by the point of St. Patrick's crozier during his baptism, the pain of which he is said to have borne patiently, thinking that it formed part of the ceremony.—"Cumque Patricius caput regis benedixisset, cuspis baculi affixa est pedi regis. Sed rex benedictionem valde desiderans, dolorem pedis pro nihilo reputavit." Other accounts attribute this accident to Owen, son of Niall. The people of Lecale (in the County Down) have still a tradition that this singular accident happened to Dichu, chieftain of Saul, near Downpatrick; and that the spot where he was baptized took its name from the circumstance, viz:—*Sruth-fhuil* ("Stream of blood"), now pronounced *Struill*, the name of a well-known locality in that neighbourhood.

Cardinal Wiseman's crozier is only four feet four inches in length. Another ancient Irish crozier, measuring three feet two inches, was shown at the Dublin exhibition in 1852; the general style of its ornamentation was similar to that of the Cardinal's and the Glenarm crozier: its staff, however, was divided only into two portions by three bands. It is worthy of remark, that this crozier exactly corresponds with the Antrim specimen in the length of the crook, and in the length of the first division of the staff. In both croziers, the length of the crook, measured from its highest point to the middle of the first band, is six inches; and the length of the staff, from the middle of the first band to the second, is twelve inches; from which we may probably conclude, that the original length of the Antrim crozier was also about three feet two inches, and that one division of the staff, one band, and the foot-spike are wanting. The foot-spike, judging from existing specimens, would have been about six inches long, and tapering to a point. An ancient crozier, found about twenty years ago, near Prosperous (County Kildare), is at present preserved at Clongowes College. Its length, exclusive of the curve, is forty-eight inches. The crook measures, externally, ten inches to the termination of its pendant, which is parallel to the staff. The staff itself is one inch in diameter, and is divided by four bands into three parts. The foot-spike tapers to a point, and is octagonal. The cresting on the crook is ornamented with a series of birds like swans, and the curve terminates in the head of some non-descript animal. On the end of the pendant, which is flat and nearly triangular in shape, there is an imperfect Irish inscription. This crozier differs in many particulars from other ancient Irish croziers: it appear to have been larger than the others, and its style of ornamentation seems to indicate a different school of art. Some have considered it to be of early French manufacture; while others, judging from the forms of the crosses sculptured on its staff refer it to a Scotch or Manx origin.

Persons forming their ideas of the length of a crozier from those now in use, will be surprised at the shortness of those here enumerated, yet they are much larger than that of

Saint Bearagh, of Cluain-coirphthe, now Kilbarry, in O'Hanly's country, in the County of Roscommon. St. Bearagh flourished about the year A.D. 80. His crozier, made of bronze, is called the "Giar-Bearaigh," and is at present in the possession of Edmund O'Hanly, Esq.; it measures only two feet seven inches, though it is quite perfect. The ancient croziers throughout the whole Church seem to have been very short: that of St. Severinus, Bishop of Cologne, who died in the year 400, served him as a walking-staff. Many passages in the Lives of our early saints—legends though they be—would lead us to suppose that their croziers also served them as walking-staves. It is related (Colg *Act. SS.* 265) that St. Muna or Munius, a nephew of St. Patrick, having forgotten his crozier where he had left it leaning against a tree, travelled on to the end of his journey, where he found it hanging from the branches of another tree. A similar story is told of St. Cainnech, that when sailing from Iona, by mistake he had left his crozier behind him, but when he landed in Ireland he found it fixed in the sand. The crozier of St. Bernard (the celebrated abbot of Clairvaulx in the twelfth century), which was preserved till the French Revolution in the monastery of Afflingham, near Brussells, was remarkable for its extreme shortness. When Photius was cited before the Eighth General Council, he presented himself leaning on a staff, as if he required that support, but the fathers perceived that this was only an artifice to appear with the *insignia* of a bishop, and the Papal Legate cried out—"Tollite baculum de manu ejus; signum est enim dignitatis pastoralis, quod hic habere nullatenus debet, quia lupus est et non pastor."[a] This anecdote proves that the croziers at the Council of Constantinople were of wood, and not larger than walking staves; for, had they not been made of wood, or had they been longer than walking-staves, the Legate would have had no reason to fear that the people would be scandalized at seeing a degraded bishop enter the Council leaning on a staff. Among the modern Greeks, with whom it is restricted to patriarchs, the crozier is shaped like a crutch, and used for a support. It is remarkable that our ancient croziers invariably contain an internal staff of wood—the original crozier—which in after ages was encased in the metallic and jewelled covering, out of veneration to the holy man to whom it once belonged. The wood of the Glenarm crozier is quite perfect and very hard. The original wooden crozier of the ancient Irish must have been very short, since we find that in no case it extends into the crook. It would seem that in old times the croziers throughout the whole Church were made of wood: we may infer this from the case of Photius, already referred to. The author of the life of St. Burchard, Bishop of Wurtsburg, informs us that this saint's crozier was made of wood. Dr. Daniel Wilson, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, exhibited at the Dublin Exhibition an oak crozier, found in the tomb of Bishop Tullock, in Kirkwall Cathedral, Orkney. However, at times in early Church history we meet with croziers made of the precious metals. St. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, who lived in the fifth century, bequeathed to one of his friends a crozier of embossed silver.[b] "Cambutum argenteum figuratum." After all,

[a] Labbe. [b] Flodoard.

however, it may have been only covered with silver. On account of the relations between the Churches of Ireland and France, the custom of ornamenting croziers was introduced into this country at an early period. In the ancient Irish poem by St. Fiech, mention is made of Tassach, from whom the saint received the holy viaticum on his death-bed. Tassach was Bishop of Raholp, near Downpatrick: he was skilled in the art of a goldsmith; and in the ancient notes to Fiech's Irish hymn, it is particularly stated that the *Bachall Iosa* received its precious covering from him. "Thassachus fuit faber ærarius S. Patricii. Fuit primus qui Baculum Jesu pretiosi tegumento obcelavit. Ecclesia ipsius erat Ratheolptha juxta Dunum ad Orientem."

I know only of one Irish crozier (Cardinal Wiseman's) which has on it a legible inscription; it has within the crook the words (I quote from memory, not having seen the crozier since the year 1851): "*Or do Cuiduiligh agus Maelfinnen*" (A prayer for Cuiduligh[c] and Mælfinnen.) We may presume that men whose names are inscribed on a crozier would be of such importance as to have at least their obits chronicled in our Annals. The names Cuiduiligh and Mælfinnen frequently occur in the Annals; but it is most likely that Cuiduiligh, Lord of Feara Tulach (a district in West Meath), slain A.D. 978, and Mælfinnen, Bishop of Kells (in Meath), who died A.D. 967 are the persons whose names are inscribed on it, as they were contemporary, and lived in the same locality. Thus we may suppose that the Cardinal's crozier, evidently belonging to the same age as the Glenarm crozier, received its metallic covering about the middle of the twelfth century: however, the original wooden crozier, of which the bronze or silver covering is but the shrine, may be four or five centuries older.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who hated everything Irish, accuses the Irish people of venerating the croziers of their ancient saints more than the books of the Gospels.[d] He describes them[e] as "baculos sanctorum in superiori parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos." From this description it is evident that it is to such as our present specimen he refers. Something similar, no doubt, was the celebrated crozier of St. Patrick, which the Irish venerated so much that they conceived the possession of it gave a sort of a title to the See of Armagh. For this reason the English, as soon as they made themselves masters of Armagh, carried off this venerated object to Dublin, where it remained till the reign of Henry VIII., when it was publicly burned in the streets by Archbishop Brown.

This, as it was the principal crozier in Ireland, warrants a short digression. Saint Bernard describes it as "baculum auro tectum et gemmis pretiosissimis ornatum." Thus it appears that at the time of Saint Bernard this crozier was adorned with gold and precious stones; and having been held in the highest veneration in the twelfth century, there is no reason to doubt its antiquity. All the Lives of Saint Patrick makes mention of it:—they tell us that he received it from a

[c] It is strange how frequently the word *Cu*, a hound, enters into the composition of Irish names; the name Cuiduiligh signifies a greedy hound!

[d] Until the arrival of the English, the custom of swearing on the Holy Evangelists was unknown to the Irish, who resorted instead to croziers, bells, and other sacred reliques, to give solemnity to their declarations. (Vid, *Cotton's Visit*, 44.)

[e] *Topograph. Hiberniæ*. Distinct. iii., c. 33.

hermit on an island of the Tyrrhene Sea, to whom it had been given by our Saviour himself, hence called in Irish "Bachall Iosa," signifying the Staff of Jesus. According to some accounts the hermit's name was Justus, and perhaps this may afford a more probable derivation for its name, and lead us to believe that it should be more properly called "the Staff of Justus." I have already told the story of its being enshrined or covered by Thassach, Bishop of Raholp. The veneration for the croziers of their ancient saints was not confined to the Irish: the Scotch were equally attached to those of their early missionaries, as we find from the following passage, extracted from an anonymous collection of Irish annals, preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, (see Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, by Dr. Reeves, page 333):— "One time, when Imhar Conung[f] was a young man, he came to Alba with three great battalions, to plunder it. The men of Alba, both lay and clerics, fasted and prayed till morning to God and Columbkille; they made earnest entreaty to the Lord; they gave great alms of food and raiment to the churches and the poor; received the body of the Lord at the hands of the priests, and promised to do all kinds of good works, as their clergy would order them, and that their standard, in going forth to any battle, should be the crozier of Columbkille. Wherefore it is called the *cath bhuaidh* ("battle victory") from that day to this. And this was a befitting name for it; for they have often gained victory in battle by it, when they placed their hope in Columbkille." We also find the Scotch preserving with the greatest veneration the croziers of St. Donnan, St. Fillan, and St. Kentigern. Croziers were at times used in Ireland like that of St. Columbkille in Scotland, as *cathachs* or standards: thus, that of St. Grellan,[g] which has been preserved so late as the year 1836, in the family of his *Comharbas*, the O'Cronelly's, had been borne in battle before the troops of Hy Many. We learn from the Book of Fenagh, that St. Callin blessed, as a standard for his own tribe, "a cross of hazel, cut with one blow, its top piercing its middle." Many of the saints whose croziers have been mentioned in this paper were not bishops; hence, among the Irish and Scotch, we find that abbots as well as bishops, in ancient times, were allowed to use the crozier. The present discipline of the Catholic Church gives the crozier to bishops, abbots, and abbesses. In order, however, to testify that their authority is of a subordinate nature, abbots and abbesses are required to have a veil or sudorium suspended from their croziers. The abbots of exempt abbeys lay aside the sudorium, but it is always used by abbesses, from whose croziers it generally hangs floating as a banner. In using his crozier, a bishop, holding it in his left hand, turns its crook towards the people, to signify that his jurisdiction extends over them, while the superior of a religious community turns the crook backwards, towards himself, to denote that his jurisdiction extends only over the community committed to his charge.

The following notice of celebrated croziers, preserved formerly in the counties of Antrim and Down, may not prove uninteresting to some. In the parish of Kilbrony, the Bishop of Dromore

[f] According to *Ann. Ulst.* Imhar Conung was slain 903. [g] Viz., Tribes and Cust. of Hy Many.

had a mensal, consisting of certain land-tithes and dues, which were appendant on the guardianship of the crozier of St. Bromana, or Bronach, a virgin who has given name to that parish.[h] The crozier of St. Comgall, the illustrious founder of Bangor (County of Down), was preserved by the clergy of Armagh till 1177, when it was taken from them by the English.

Even still more celebrated than the "*Bachall Comhghaill*" was the crozier of St. Mochua, who gave name to Mahee Island, in Strangford Lough,[i] where he erected his church, and where, in after ages, his crozier was preserved with religious veneration. Jocelin tells us, as usual, a long legendary story, that St. Patrick converted at Bright, four miles south of Downpatrick, a swine-herd, who in after times became St. Mochua, and that, while he was instructing this youth, a crozier sent from Heaven fell between them; in consequence of which omen, St. Patrick consecrated him Bishop of Edrum, or Mahee-Island.—"And the staff is in that church still preserved, and is called by the Irish 'The Flying Staff.' And as St. Patrick had advanced this man from the care of swine unto the Episcopate, a swine is yearly taken from that territory and paid unto the Church of Down." (Jocelin, chap. 31.)

The following ancient Irish croziers are still in existence:—

The crozier of Lismore, at present in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

At the Dublin Exhibition, in 1852, Dr. Petrie exhibited a highly ornamented and enamelled crozier, and portions of six others.

Cardinal Wiseman exhibited the crozier already referred to.

The Jesuits' College at Clongowes exhibited the other crozier already mentioned.

The Royal Irish Academy exhibited a highly ornamented short crozier, and portions of six others, from different localities in Ireland, amongst which was the crozier of St. Blathmac, of Corrafin.

The crozier of St. Bearragh.

At the meeting of the British Association, for the advancement of science, held in Belfast, in 1852, when a very large assemblage of Northern Irish antiquities was exhibited in the Belfast Museum, there was one imperfect crozier, belonging to the late Mr. Bell of Dungannon.

Belfast. James O'Laverty.

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## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

Fig. 1.—A full-size drawing of one side of the crook, the first band, and a portion of the staff, of the Glenarm Crozier. The same ornaments occur on the other side, excepting that on it the ornament represented by Fig. 2 is substituted for the central cross.

Fig. 3.—An ecclesiastical figure, and the setting of a stone, in front of the cross at A.

Fig. 4.—A rude representation of the Crucifixion rivetted to the staff at B.

Fig. 5.—A restoration of the Glenarm Crozier, in accordance with existing specimens belonging to the same date. The original terminates a little below the second band at C.

[h] Reeves's Down and Connor. [i] Ibid.

# THE MACQUILLINS OF THE ROUTE.

THE Paper which appeared in the last number of this *Journal*, entitled "The Clan of the MacQuillins of Antrim," is an interesting contribution to the history of a sept whose name is still remembered on the northern coast. The statements embodied in Hamilton's *Letters* and Dubourdieu's *Survey*, respecting the ruin of this ancient family, had produced a pretty general impression that the old line of the MacQuillins had no representative at the present day. This conclusion, however, has been modified, if not entirely set aside by Mrs. Webb, who derives her materials from "private records and historical notices" of the family, and who affirms that Joseph MacQuillin, of Great Clonard, County of Wexford, is the lineal descendant of the well-known Rory Oge, and through him, of Fiacha (more correctly Fiachna,[a]) a renowned prince of Dalriada. The contrast between the representatives of this race in former and latter times is assuredly most remarkable. A much happier, if not so distinguished an era in the family history was inaugurated when its representatives were eased of the responsibilities involved in the possession of the Route, and took to manufacture linen and intermarry with members of the truly excellent Society of Friends. Here is, indeed, a curious family "vicissitude," but one for which those immediately concerned should feel especially grateful.

There can be little doubt as to the *Irish origin* of the MacQuillins. The genealogical account, "long as the third chapter of Luke," (mentioned in the article referred to) but unfortunately lost among the Jesuits of Marseilles, probably contained the names of the early princes or kings of Uladh, as recorded in the genealogical work of Duald MacFirbis. That list contains the names of between sixty and seventy princes, the first of whom, Muireadhach Muinderg, ninth in descent from Fiatach Finn, died in the year 479; and the last, Rudhraighe MacDonnsleibhe, styled by the *Annals of Inisfallen*, "the last king of Uladh," was slain by Sir John de Courcy, in the year 1200.[b] Of these, forty-two died by violent means, some falling in battle, others put to death by their subjects, and not a few assassinated by their own brothers or near kinsmen. One, Aodh (Hugh) Manannach, was drowned in Loch Eathach (Lough Neagh). Only one, Leathlobhar, who died in 871, is spoken of as having attained to a good old age. His immediate predecessor, Madagan, died in

[a] "Fiachna is spoken of in the *Life of Comgall* as residing at Rathmor, in Moylinny, and a devoted friend of the saint. He was an enterprising chief, and in 573 won the battle of Tola, in the King's County. In 589, he became King of Uladh, and in 591 won the battle of Edan-mor from the Ciannachta of Meath. In 597, he won the battle of Sliabh Cua, in Waterford; and in 602, that of Cuil-caol, in Down. In 623 he took Rath-Guala, in Uladh, and fell at the battle of Leth-Midhin, in 626."—*Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, pp. 253, 254.

[b] Reeves' Eccl. Antiq., pp. 353-357.

holy orders; and another prince, Bec Boirche, is recorded as having died while on a pilgrimage, A.D. 716, but to what particular shrine the annalist does not mention.

But, granting the Irish origin of the MacQuillins, there can be as little doubt respecting the fact that one branch of the family (not probably the main line) must have emigrated to Wales at some remote period, and reappeared in Ulster at the commencement of the thirteenth century. The fact of their having come from Wales is amply attested by both English and Irish authorities. The famous Irish genealogist, Duald MacFirbis, was not influenced by any English or Scotch misrepresentations in this matter, and he asserts that the MacQuillins of the Route came from Wales about the time of the English invasion. He also records the belief prevalent, no doubt, in his own time, and traditionally preserved, that although coming from Wales at the time above-mentioned, the MacQuillins had descended from the old Dalriadic race of princes. The following are his words:—"There are families in Ireland whose history, for a great part, we have some doubts of. Thus did it happen to the greater part of them: viz., it is said that certain of the Nobles of Erin passed over the seas, as Gaedheals out of Erin, and that their descendants returned a long time after as Galls, or Britons, or other foreign tribes, into Erin." Among other families thus circumstanced, MacFirbis distinctly specifies more than once, the MacQuillins of the Route.[c] At the commencement of the sixteenth century they are described by English writers as among the leading *English* rebels in Ulster, the others being the Bissetts and the Savages. In 1542, Sentleger writes to Henry VIII., thus:—"I, with other of your Highness's Counsell here, the 15th of this monethe, mette with Oneil, and dyvers other Irisshe captayns of the northe, and amongs them one *Maguyllen*, who having long strayed from the nature of his alleigeance (his ancestors being your subjectes, and came out of Wales) was growen to be as Irisshe as the worste, and was in the late conflycte with Oneil, in his ayde ageinste your Majestie. Albeit he hathe nowe right humblie submytted him self. . . . . His countrey lyethe farre of from ayde of your Inglisshe paale, which hath been a great cause of his long rebellion, beying forced to adheare to som Irisshmen for his defence againste som other of them; and, as he confessethe, none of his name, sithe the first conqueste of their lande, being capteyn, have dyed in their beddes, but all slain by Irisshemen. I trust in God that from henceforthe, he will contynewe your Highnes subjecte. His countrey lyethe joynyng to the ryver Ban, where all the fisshing is for salmondes; and if he contynewe in his saide obedience, the same fisshing wilbe moch better to your Highnes than it hathe bene for many yeris."[d] In the same year the Lord Lieutenant writes to the King as follows:—

"Nowe, as to the farder occurantes of this, your Realme, for asmuche as one *Maguyllen*, whiche is an Inglissheman, and now submytted to your Majesttes obedyence, is invaded by one called Ochaan, by the ayde, it is said, of Odoneill his galoglas; we have therfore sent John Travers, master of your Ordynance here, and John Brereton, capteyn of your fotemen, with a con-

[c] See Reeves' Eccl. Antiq., pp. 326-327.

[d] State Papers, vol. iii., p. 281.

venyente nomber of horsemen and fotemen, to the ayde of the same *Maguyllen*, as well for that the same Ochaan, whiche never yet showed any obedyence to your Majestie, should not distroye the same Maguyllen, as also to gayne corage to others, that have in like sorte submytted themselves to your obedyence, as Maguyllen hathe done, shall, in like case, be ayded, if they doe persiste in their dewe alleigeance."[e] The expedition to the north, referred to in this extract, was attended with complete success. In the month of August, 1542, Travers and Brereton returned to Dublin, "having bothe taken, aswell the saide Ocathan his castell from him, whiche standyth upon your ryver of the Ban, being an obstacle to your Highnes farmors, and other your Englische subjectes, to fyshe there, as depredate and brent part of the sayde Ocathan's lands, and kylled an hundred and more of the Scottes of the out Isles for certen traytorous deedes by them commytted, to the terryble example of such rebelles." This punishment decided Manus O'Cahan, not only to desist from attacking MacQuillin, but also to join with the latter in a form of submission to the English Government. A copy of this document is preserved in Lambeth Library, written in Latin, and containing the most ample promises on the part of the two northern chiefs, not only of submission but of active co-operation with the English agents, especially in making war on the salmon of the Bann.[f] The form of submission is signed by Rory MacQuillin and Manus O'Cahan, the former surrendering to the English as hostages or sureties, Hugh O'Quine and Jenkin M'Gerrald M'Cullye, and the latter giving up for the same purpose, Donnell Ballow (Ballcah) and Ony (John) M'Rorye.[g]

This Rory MacQuillin was the immediate predecessor of "old Edward," but whether his father or an elder brother, the MS. quoted by Mrs. Webb does not determine. The celebrated Rory Oge MacQuillin is stated in the MacQuillin MS. to have been born in the year 1567, but we have ample evidence that his birth must have occurred much earlier. It so happens that there is more than one reference to him in the State Papers of that very year. On the 6th of Oct., 1567, Captains Piers and Malbie wrote to the Lord Deputy Sidney, complaining that Rory Ogo MacQuillin, and "old MacQuillin," his grandfather, had become tardy in paying certain *cess* for which, the English authorities held them responsible.[h] On the 24th of November, in the same year, Turlough Luineeh O'Neill wrote to the Lords Justices and Council, stating that he had despatched messengers to the Earl of Argyle, in Scotland, for the purpose of urging that chieftain to attack the Scots of Clan Donnell, but that Rory Oge MacQuillin had spoiled his messengers. The latter is also mentioned in a communication written at Carrickfergus, on the 6th of December following,

[e] State Papers, vol. iii., p. 399.

[f] The following clause occurs in their Act of Submission:—"Item ulterius promittunt et concedunt prefati Roricus et Manus, quod quocunque tempore Johannes Travers, firmarius Domini Regis, ibidem, vel famuli, seu servientes sui venient illuc ad piscandum, habebunt usum et commoditatem castri de Collranell, pro securitate piscatorum, cum libertate pro ipsis piscatoribus ad condiendum et saliendum pisces, et trahendum retia super terram."

[g] State Papers, vol. iii., p. 408.

[h] Calendar of State Papers, edited by H. C. Hamilton Esq., p. 350.

by Captains Piers and Malbie, who speak at the same time of old MacQuillin's treachery and imprisonment. On the 19th of December, Malbie, in writing to the Lords Justices, stated that Rory Oge had assisted the Scots under Sorley Boy, in taking possession of Monery and Cary, two districts including the present parishes of Ramoan and Culfeightrin.[j]

The MacQuillin MS. professes to give an account of a matrimonial alliance which took place between one of the MacDonnells and a daughter of old Edward MacQuillin. There is great confusion and uncertainty, however, in this account, both as to the date of the marriage and the name of the bridegroom. In the first place, the marriage is mentioned as having occurred in the year 1567, at which date, the chieftain of the MacQuillins is represented as dwelling in the Castle of Dunluce. But, as we shall hereafter prove, Sorley Boy MacDonnell had expelled the MacQuillins, and was himself in occupation of Dunluce much prior to the year now mentioned. In the next place, the MS. correctly states that *Colla* MacDonnell was the bridegroom, but Mrs. Webb adds, "or Alexander," and, unfortunately, the confusion of name thus introduced is continued throughout. Colla and Alexander MacDonnell were brothers, and sons of Alexander Carrach, but the Alexander MacDonnell who served under Lord Sussex, and received golden spurs for so doing, was not a member of this the principal family of the clan Donnell. The Alexander MacDonnell who was present at the slaying of Shane O'Neill, at Cushindun, was brother to Colla, as already stated, and also to James, Angus, and Sorley Boy, but there is no evidence that he was married to MacQuillin's daughter. Again, the Alexander MacDonnell who was slain by Captain Merriman, in 1586, was the second son of Sorley Boy, but he does not appear to have been married, or, at least, to have left any family.

The fact of the marriage is preserved also in a *MacDonnell Manuscript*, but whilst the latter document positively states that Colla MacDonnell was the husband of MacQuillin's daughter, it errs even more glaringly than the MacQuillin MS. as to the date of the transaction in question. The marriage could not have taken place later than the year 1550, if we may judge from certain circumstances recorded in connexion with the event. The following is the account preserved by the MacDonnell manuscript:—"Colla M$^{c}$Donald came with a parcel of men from Cantire to Ireland, to assist Tyreonnell against great O'Neal,[k] with whom he was then at war. In passing through the Root of the County Antrim, he was civilly received and hospitably entertained by M$^{c}$Quillin, who was then lord and master of the Root. At that time there was a war between M$^{c}$Quillin and the men beyond the river Bann, for the custom of this people was, to rob from every one, and the strongest party carried it, be it right or wrong. On the day when Colla M$^{c}$Donald was taking his departure to proceed on his journey to Tyreonnell, M$^{c}$Quillin, who was not equal in war to his savage neighbours, called together his militia, or galloglaghs, to revenge his affronts over the

[j] Hamilton's Calendar of State Papers, pp. 352, 355, 358.

[k] Con, known as first Earl of Tyrone.

Bann, and M$^{c}$Donald, thinking it uncivil not to offer his service that day to M Quillin, after having been so kindly treated, sent one of his gentlemen with an offer of his service in the field. M$^{c}$Quillin was right well pleased with the offer, and declared it to be a perpetual obligation on him and his posterity. So M$^{c}$Quillin and the highlanders went against the enemy, and where there was a cow taken from M$^{c}$Quillin's people before, there were two restored back; after which, M$^{c}$Quillin and Colla M$^{c}$Donald returned with a great prey, and without the loss of a man. Winter then drawing nigh, M$^{c}$Quillin gave Colla M$^{c}$Donald an invitation to stay with him at his castle, advising him to settle himself until the spring, and to quarter his men up and down the Root. This Colla M$^{c}$Donald gladly accepted, and in the meantime seduced M$^{c}$Quillin's daughter, and privately married her; on which ground the Scots afterwards founded their claim to M$^{c}$Quillin's territories. The men were quartered two and two, through the Root, that is to say, one of M$^{c}$Quillin's galloglaghs and a highlander in every tenant's house. It so happened that the galloglagh, according to custom, besides his ordinary, was entitled to a meather of milk, as a privilege. This the highlander esteemed to be a great affront; and at last one asked his landlord, 'Why do you not give me milk, as you give to the other?' The galloglagh made answer, 'Would you, a highland beggar as you are, compare yourself to me or any of M$^{c}$Quillin's galloglaghs?' The poor honest tenant (who was heartily weary of them both) said, 'Pray, gentlemen, I'll open the two doors, and you may go and fight it out in the fair field, and he that has the victory let him take milk and all to himself.' The combat ended in the death of the galloglagh, after which the highlander came in again, and dined heartily. M$^{c}$Quillin's galloglaghs immediately assembled to demand satisfaction; and in a council which was held, where the conduct of the Scots was debated, their great and dangerous power, and the disgrace arising from the seduction of M$^{c}$Quillin's daughter, it was agreed, that each galloglagh should kill his comrade highlander by night, and their lord and master with them; but Colla M$^{c}$Donald's wife discovered the plot, and told it to her husband. So the highlanders fled in the night-time, and escaped to the island of Raghery."[1]

The Colla MacDonnell specified in the above extract was one of the most distinguished of the eight warlike sons of Alexander Carrach. He was the constant associate and coadjutor of his eldest brother, James, in the subjugation of the Route; and when that severe task had been virtually accomplished, about the year 1555, Colla was appointed by his brother the governor of the newly-acquired territory. His principal place of residence was the castle built on *Kinbann*, 'the white headland,' about a mile and a-half westward from the present town of Ballycastle. The promontory of Kinbann is entirely composed of chalk, and, from its picturesque shape and dazzling whiteness, has always been viewed as one of the most attractive features of that very attractive coast. The

[1] The manuscript of which the above extract is a part, was printed entire in the Rev. William Hamilton's *Letters concerning the Northern Coast of the County of Antrim*, but that writer does not state on what authority the document is founded, or whether the original was written in Gaelic or English.

remains of Colla's castle still exist, and indicate a date of erection not earlier than the commencement of the sixteenth century. In 1551, Sir Thomas Cusake, Chancellor of Ireland, in writing to the Earl of Warwick an account of the Lord Deputy Croft's hosting against the Scots, states that Colla *Maelduv*, the second brother to James MacDonnell, had a strong castle named *Keanbaan*, which the Deputy ordered to be defaced.[m] Colla was the *third*, not the second, brother, as Sir Thomas Cusake here states. He was surnamed *Maelduv*, an epithet which implied that he was *bald*, and *had a dark complexion*. He was also known as Colla *Duv nag-Capull*, or "Black Colla of the Horses," a name which may have been applied either to denote that he was a distinguished cavalry officer, or devoted to the sport of horse-racing. Local tradition still speaks of him as a man of gigantic size and great bodily strength and activity. He died in May, 1558, probably at Kinban castle, and his death is mentioned by the Lord Deputy Sussex, on the 3rd of June following, in a letter to Boxoll.[n] Sussex remarks that Colla was the *best man* of them all (that is, of all the brothers), and that he had always remained in Ireland, whilst the others frequently passed to and fro between this country and Scotland.[o] He left at least one son, Alexander, who also resided at Kinban, and possessed some property in the Glynns. Alexander's descendants were known in that locality as *MacAllisters*, and very many of them are still to be found on the coast. The bloods of the two rival races of MacQuillins and MacDonnells unite in these humble people's veins. The last descendant of the main line was a lady, who dwelt in Kinban castle, and married Hugh Boyd, Esq., of Ballycastle, so well known in connexion with the history of that town.

Mrs. Webb is under the impression that neither Sorley Boy nor any other member of the MacDonnell family excluded, or even wished to exclude, the MacQuillins from their ancient castle of Dunluce. The truth is, however, that *exclusion* is too mild a term to be employed in this instance. The MacQuillins were summarily expelled from their principal residence in or about the year 1555, and were never afterwards permitted to re-enter it. Local tradition affirms that Sorley Boy employed some deep manœuvre to get possession of Dunluce, but it is more probable that the castle passed away from the MacQuillins, as a matter of course, on the fall of their authority in the Route. At all events, there is nothing more certain than that Sorley Boy occupied that great fortress previously to 1565, and that old MacQuillin, from the time of his expulsion, dwelt at *Ballynbeg*, or Ballinloughbeg, the modern name of the townland adjoining the ancient castle of *Baile-an-Locha*, (Ballylough), near the present town of Bushmills. On the 2nd of May, 1565, Shane O'Neill gained a great victory over the Scots, at *Gleann-taisi*, in the neighbourhood of Ballycastle. In this battle the two brothers, James and Sorley Boy, were taken prisoners, together with nineteen other officers

[m] Hamilton's Calendar of *State Papers*, page 116,

[n] Hamilton's Calendar of *State Papers*, page 146.

[o] The MacQuillin MS., or perhaps Mrs. Webb, speaks of *Colonel* MacDonald. How comes this comparatively modern title in military rank to be applied in the present instance? Is it a mistaken extension of the simple Christian name *Colla*?

of the Clan Donnell. O'Neill's movements, both before and after the engagement, are minutely described in a letter written by "Gerot Flemyng," in the month of June, 1565, and addressed to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusake. A copy of this letter lies before us, and from it we beg to submit the following extract, bearing, with sufficient clearness, on the point at issue. On the night of the day on which the battle of Gleann-taisi was fought, O'Neil encamped at *Boile Caislein* (Ballycastle). "In the morning after," says Flemyng, "he removed thence and came to Downesterick (probably the present Deffrick, near Dervock,[o]) and *Downlisse* (Dunluce), in the Rott, being v. mile asonder, which were Sanhirly Boy is chiefe castells, and the chiefe defence and holt of all those partes, of the whiche he won the same day Downesterick, wherein he left sertaine of his men to deffend it against the enymie. But the other he could not wyn in the space of thry daies after, till at last, partely through fear of Sanhirly Boy is dethe, who was kepte without meat or drinck to the end the castell might be the rather yeldid, and partely for saulf gard of their owne liffis, seing the manifold and cruell skermishis and assaults contynaly on every, [*sic*] the warde were faine to yeld the castell in to his handes, which also he comittid to the saulfe kyping of such of his men as were moost able to defend the same."[p]

Three years afterwards, in 1568, the Lord Justice Fitzwylliams and Marshall Bagenall set out with a large force from Carrickfergus, with the purpose of preventing a combination of the troops of Turlough Luineeh O'Neill with those of Sorley Boy, which were expected to land in Marketon (Ballycastle) Bay. On reaching the latter place, it was found that the Scottish leader had eluded them, and they were forced, from want of provisions, to continue their march to Dunluce, where they expected to obtain supplies. On their way, they called with old MacQuillin, at *Ballynbeg*, but found his *house empty!* This fact bespoke a sad change in the circumstances of the aged chief. He now occupied simply a house in the vicinity of one of his minor castles, and even that domicile contained nothing that could be turned to account by the hungry strangers. These facts are detailed in a letter written by Sir Nicholas Bagenall, at Carrickfergus, on the 3rd of May, 1568, and addressed to the Lord Deputy.[q]

Speaking of the expulsion of the MacQuillins from Dunluce, we may mention that the story, in its most harrowing shape, has been made the subject of a poem by a gentleman named *Edward*

[o] There still exist the ruins of what had been an extensive fortress at Deffrick. It was of a circular form, and surrounded by a deep trench. The space occupied by this castle is ninety feet in diameter. There was a well in the centre, and a vast cave underneath.

[p] See, also, Hamilton's *Calendar*, page 265.

[q] Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 377. That MacQuillin did not occupy the *castle* of Ballylough is proved by the fact, that Turlough Brasselagh O'Neill, cousin to Turlough Luineeh, was in occupation of that fortress about the period referred to. (See page 418.) The name is spelled, in the State Papers, *Ballinlagh*, *Ballenislagh*, and *Ballelanaghe*. The castle stood in the present townland of Ballyloughmore, and MacQuillin's house in the adjoining townland of Ballyloughbeg, which, in documents of the seventeenth century, is called *Ballinloughbeg*—the *Ballynbeg* of the State Papers.

*Quillinan*, who was an officer in the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and a descendant of "old Edward" MacQuillin, of the Route. His poem, entitled "Dunluce Castle," was printed at the *Private Press of Lee Priory*, in 1814, and edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. It was dedicated to Frederick Goulburn, Esq., captain in the 13th Regiment of Light Dragoons, and in the dedication, the author is described as "a young companion whose genius he (Goulburn) generously admires, and to the excellent qualities of whose heart and intellect he has stood firm in the hour of trial." Quillinan may have been an amiable and gallant officer, but he had little of the poet's spirit, and less of the archæologist's. He ventures on no details (either in prose or verse) connected with his subject, and does not hazard a date to tell us when the alleged grand catastrophe of his house occurred. He does not even record the *Christian* names of the rival chiefs who figured in his rhymes. At the *conclusion* we have simply the following announcement:—"The fact by which Dunluce Castle is here described to have been lost to the family of its original possessors is historical. The writer has added what fictitious circumstances he thought proper." And we must add that, were the "fictitious circumstances" abstracted, the *historical* portion of the affair would be very small indeed. Even the traditional account, or we are much mistaken, has been greatly distorted by Mr. Quillinan, for, instead of representing MacDonnell as seizing M^cQuillin at the banquet, he describes him as entering the castle by a private door, at dead of night, and murdering all the inmates, save one, whilst they slept!"[r]

The accounts contained in the MacQuillan MS. respecting the date of the decisive engagement between the two rival septs, is open to serious objections. It represents the last battle as occurring in July, 1569, near Gilgorm, or *Gealgorm* Castle. The struggle, however, must have closed at least ten years earlier. On the death of Colla M^cDonnell, in 1558, James, the eldest brother,

r Any amount of enormity against his ancestors could be easily imagined by the youthful guardsman as he clambered about the ruins of Dunluce, and resigned himself to such wrapt contemplation of the past as the following lines bespeak:—

"When shrinks the mind, instinctive taught,
From toil, and noise, and bustle;
*And through the busy bower of thought*
*Romantic fancies rustle.*"

As a further specimen of the poetry issued by the *Private Press of Lee Priory*, we submit the following novel account of the *Giant's Causeway*, by Mr. Quillinan:—

"Its polygons so perfect are,
And vertically regular,
And yet so dark, so fierce they seem,
That might imagination deem
(Each upward set, without its wain),
'Twas even Hell's artillery train,
Thus placed by demons with intent
To blast the crystal firmament."

One member of the MacQuillan family, at least, must have had a true poetical vein. James Charles Mangan has translated a very spirited and pathetic poem from the original Irish of *Charles Boy MacQuillin*, entitled the *Tragedy of Ruaghri and Dearbhorgilla*. Ruaghri, a prince of Oriel, had been guilty of some neglect towards his intended, amounting almost to breach of promise, which was summarily punished by the lady's father. Ruaghri committed suicide, and Dearbhorgilla died in a dungeon.

The poem, as translated by Mangan, concludes thus:—

"This is the tale of the Prince of Oriel,
And Darvorgilla, both sprung from kings;
I pen it here as a dark memorial
Of how much woe thoughtless folly brings."

The reader may see the entire poem in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. v., pp. 6-9.

who resided generally in Isla, or Cantyre, offered the lordship of the Route to Alexander, the second brother, but the latter refused it, probably from the conviction that the governor of that territory would be required to hold it, not only in defiance of the English, but in opposition to occasional attempts on the part of the MacQuillins to regain their lost inheritance. James MacDonnell, next offered the post, with all its honours and responsibilities, to his fourth brother, Angus, who also declined it, and, probably, for the same reason. Angus was surnamed *Uaibhreach*, or "the Proud," but his ambition does not appear to have prompted him in this instance. On his refusal, the lordship of the Route was tendered to Sorley Boy, the seventh brother, who gladly accepted it, and who, indeed, from the time of his first coming to the Antrim Coast, had evidently determined to make his home there. His appointment was "a heavy blow" to the MacQuillins, and was, most probably, the moving cause of their final attempt to reinstate themselves as owners of the Route. During the few years that had elapsed from the time of their subjugation, Edward MacQuillin and his three sons were content to submit, partly because of their inability to renew the contest, and partly because Colla MacDonnell's wife was so intimately connected with themselves. So long as Colla lived, or was permitted by his brothers to have sole authority in the Route, it is not likely that his wife's father and brothers would have sought to risk the loss of the estates that still remained to them; but, on his death, and the appointment of his ambitious brother, Sorley Boy, to succeed him, they seem to have lost all hope of restoration from any agency other than their own efforts.

Hence the renewal of the deadly strife in the summer of 1558. As the English were not actively engaged in what had probably now assumed somewhat the appearance of a family quarrel, we have no traces in the State Papers of this final conflict between Sorley and the MacQuillins. In such cases, however, the authorities of the Pale were pretty sure to countenance the stronger party, and we find there was no departure from their established principle of policy in the present instance. James MacDonnell was now in a position which enabled him to sustain the Scottish cause in Ulster, as much by negotiation as by arms. He seems to have entered into such arrangements with the English as saved himself from the necessity of appearing once more in Antrim to reconquer the Route; and the struggle between Sorley Boy and the MacQuillins was thus left to be conducted by the two parties immediately concerned. In June, 1559, Queen Elizabeth wrote a complimentary letter to James MacDonnell, in which she speaks of his fidelity, and immediately afterwards the Lord Deputy Sussex was instructed to accept in good part the suit of his brother, Sorley Boy.[a] This suit had reference, doubtless, to his struggle with the MacQuillins, which was now drawing rapidly to a close. The concluding battle of Aura, we are strongly disposed to think, was fought in the autumn of 1559 instead of 1569. In addition to the reasons already stated in favour of this

[a] Hamilton's Calendar of State Papers, p. 154.

opinion, it must be observed that Edward MacQuillin's three sons had passed away many years previously to 1569, and, consequently, could not have been then engaged in mortal conflict with Sorley Boy. The only chiefs of the family alive at this period were old Edward and his grandson, Rory Oge, both of whom, particularly the latter, acted regularly in concert with the Scots, and in opposition to the English. A league had been formed against the Government by the Ulster chiefs, in the year 1568, the leading members of which were Brian MacPhelim O'Neill, Turlough Luinech O'Neill, and Sorley Boy. On the 3rd of Jan., 1568, Sir N. Bagenall wrote from Dundalk to the Lords Justices, informing them, among other matters, that Rory Oge MacQuillin had made peace with the Scots, and married Turlough Luinech O'Neill's daughter. These two acts implied that Rory had become a member of the Northern League. On the 22nd of the same month, Bagenall wrote a second letter to the Lords Justices, stating that Sorley Boy had gone into Scotland, and had left his forces in charge of Brian Carrach MacCormac MacDonnell and Rory Oge MacQuillin, all under the supreme command of Turlough Luinech O'Neill. On the 13th of February, Captain Malbie wrote to the Lord Deputy Sidney, that Rory Oge was one of the *naughtiest boys in this land,* an expression which strongly implied the nature of young MacQuillin's policy. Ten days subsequently, Captains Piers and Malbie, in writing to the Lords Justices, stated that no rebel leaders *were out but Rory Oge MacQuillin.* The Lord Justice Fitzwylliams and the Council, on the 16th of April, denounced Rory Oge for not having made known his complaints to them, instead of rebelliously withdrawing from his native place to join other insurgent chiefs west of the Bann. On the 1st of May, Fitzwylliams and Bagenall wrote to Queen Elizabeth, from Carrickfergus, that Captain Malbie was in the act of bringing into Glenarm 500 head of cattle from the MacQuillins. A joint letter from Captains Piers and Malbie to the Queen, written at Carrickfergus on the 7th of July, announced that Alexander Oge M'Allister and Rory Oge MacQuillin had been driven clean out of their properties in the Route and Glynns, and that no less than 40,000 head of cattle had been collected from the rebels in various parts of Ulster, and placed at her Majesty's disposal. The two chiefs last named were cousins, Alexander Oge M'Alister being a son of Colla MacDonnell. The notorious Terence Danyell, Dean of Armagh, wrote to an English agent named Flemyng, on the 9th of June previously, that "old MacQuillin had gone over to Sorley Boy," a fact with which the Government had been well acquainted at a much earlier date.[t]

Thus, we see plainly that the three sons of old Edward MacQuillin must have perished some years, at least, previously to 1568, as there is no trace of their existence throughout any of the transactions of that eventful year. But further, we have ample evidence that the great Scottish leader, Sorley Boy, ruled without a rival in the Route and Glynns during the year 1569, and, therefore, could have had no conflict with the MacQuillins at Aura or Galgorm, or anywhere else,

[t] Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, pp. 359, 363, 365, 369, 375, 377, 381, 383.

so late as the period specified by the MacQuillin MS. He had then so firmly established himself on the Antrim coast as not only to bid defiance to the MacQuillins, but to the authorities in London and Dublin. The lines in which a late poet so forcibly describes the virtual supremacy of another well-known Scottish freebooter might be applied with equal truth in the present instance, by simply substituting the one name for the other:—

"And thus, amid these hills, he reigned
Through summer's heat and winter's snow,—
The eagle, he was lord above,
And Sorley, lord below."

The year 1569 was remarkable in the annals of Ulster as witnessing the arrival of greater numbers of Scottish forces in the North than any previous year. Indeed, the hardy soldiers of Argyleshire and the Isles came in such numbers, under the able leadership of Sorley Boy, as to overawe all opposition. We find that a certain Bristol merchant, named Leonard Sumpter, gave information to the Government, on the 12th of August, that Sorley Boy was preparing to sail from Islay to Lough Foyle, at the head of 4,000 men. The Islesmen were to be brought into Ulster by thirty-two gallies and a great number of boats. This invasion had, doubtless, taken place in due course, as on the 27th of the same month, Turlough Brasselagh O'Neill wrote to Dean Danyell, from Ballenielagh, (Ballylough), that Sorley and his brother Alexander intended to enter Clanneboy with a large force about Michaelmas. The Route and Glynns had been long since perfectly established under Scottish authority, and Sorley was about to move southward into the territories now constituting the county of Down, for the purpose of lending a helping hand to his powerful ally, Sir Brian MacPhelim O'Neill. In this year, also, Turlough Luineeh O'Neill married the widow of James MacDonnell, who was styled the 'Lady of Cantire,' and who brought to her husband a force of 3,000 Scottish Highlanders.[a]

These facts prove that the MacQuillins had now become a comparatively unimportant clan, and that the decisive battle between them and the MacDonnells must have been fought many years before 1569. Local tradition distinctly affirms that it occurred in the immediate vicinity of the mountain named Aura, at the head of Glenshesk. One or two traditionary anecdotes relating to this battle may be here mentioned. The tenant-farmers in the parish of Culfeightrin tell of an individual in their own class named MacDonnell, who visited Glenarm castle for the purpose of obtaining the renewal of his lease from the fourth Earl of Antrim, on terms which only a member of the Clan Donnell could venture to ask. The Earl (Randall) was from home when the tenant arrived, but Lady Antrim (Rachel Clotworthy, daughter of Lord Massereene), on hearing the purport of the farmer's visit, and thinking, no doubt, that the clansmen generally presumed *rather* too much on the relationship in which they stood to her lord, hastily exclaimed, "*Another MacDonnell!*

[a] Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, pp. 416, 418, 420.

*you are all MacDonnells in the Low Glens!*" "*Aye,*" replied the tenant, "*too many MacDonnells to-day, but not one too many on the day of Aura!*" Local tradition, therefore, decides the question in favour of Aura, but it is not improbable that there may have been skirmishing and slaughter even so far southward as Galgorm. There is no doubt that the struggle was a desperate affair throughout. Sorley Boy is said to have regaled himself occasionally with *oatmeal and water, mixed in his shoe,* which he pronounced to be the sweetest repasts he had ever enjoyed! The MacDonnells were determined that no leader of the MacQuillins should escape. One of the latter fled from the field of battle after their defeat, and had reached the island of Loughlynch, but was hotly pursued by a powerful Scot from Islay, named Owen or John Magee, who swam after him and slew him.[v] The fate of Rory Oge MacQuillin was still more melancholy. His dependent position compelled him to unite with Sorley Boy against the English. He was treacherously seized at Belfast, in 1574, together with his kinsman, Sir Brian MacPhelim O'Neill, by the Earl of Essex, and soon afterwards executed at Carrickfergus. Camden affirms that these two chiefs were half-brothers. Leland states, on the authority of an Irish manuscript, that they were taken to Dublin, and there "*cut up in quarters.*" Curry, in his *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland,* has the same statement, which he derived, probably, from the same manuscript. A more reliable authority, however, was brought to light by M^c^Skimmin, who discovered the following account of their death among the Records of the Town of Carrickfergus:—"June 1575. In this sayd month, Sur Brian M^c^Phellime & Rowry Ogg M^c^Quillin were executed in this Towne."[w] The only crime with which the latter could be charged was his alliance with Sorley Boy and the O'Neills, as already stated. In order to justify their arrest at Belfast, Essex thought it necessary to issue a Proclamation, in which treachery and murder are charged against Sir Brian MacPhelim, but nothing more serious than simple rebellion against Rory Oge. This proclamation is enclosed in a despatch to the Privy Council, dated 24th December, 1574.

The tradition contained in the MacQuillin MS. respecting the friendly protection afforded by Roderick and Richard MacQuillin to Colonel Hill, when pursued by MacDonnell, is preserved in a somewhat different form on the Antrim coast. Among the Hills and Magees, of Ramoan, there existed a feeling of cordial friendship for many generations after the year 1641, because of a certain alliance for mutual protection entered into by their respective ancestors during the internecine horrors of that eventful year. According to the terms of this agreement, the Magees, who were Roman Catholics, adopted the Hills, who were Protestants, as members of their own family, and thus preserved them from massacre; on the other hand, the Hills rendered the same signal services to the Magees, when circumstances changed, and the day of retaliation and retribution came. As these two traditions resemble each other in some points, they may have been originally the same. There are at least two reasons which would induce us to prefer the Ramoan tradition. The ancestor

[v] See Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiquities, page 287. [w] *History of Carrickfergus*, second edition, page 31.

of the Hills came with the Earl of Essex, but from the time of Essex's arrival in 1573, until the capture and death of Rory MacQuillin, the latter had been in league with the Ulster chiefs, and was not likely, therefore, to have had any opportunity, even if so inclined, to protect Hill from the wrath of MacDonnell. And, assuredly, such protection would not have been required in Island Magee, as the authority of the English was there, at least, paramount.

The MacQuillin MS. represents Randall MacDonnell—who became the first Earl of Antrim—as the grandson of old Edward MacQuillin, and as being influenced by "feelings of vengeful antipathy" against his cousin, Rory MacQuillin. Now, Randall aforesaid had sins enough to answer for in the exclusion of his brother James's children from their inheritance, without making him answerable for crimes in which he could have had no participation. For, in the first place, he was not grandson to old MacQuillin, nor cousin to Rory Oge, nor in any degree related to the MacQuillins at all. He was the third or fourth son of Sorley Boy MacDonnell, by Mary O'Neill, daughter of Con O'Neill, known as the first Earl of Tyrone. The sons of his uncle, Colla, were cousins of Rory Oge MacQuillin, and it is quite possible there may have existed jealousies between them and the MacQuillins, arising out of rival claims to properties in the Route; but Sorley Boy had established himself as the chief of the Clan Donnell in Ulster, from the year 1558, and his eldest surviving son, James, succeeded to the same dignity, on the death of his father, in 1590. When James died, or was poisoned, at Dunluce, in 1601, his children by Mary O'Neill (of the family of the O'Neills of the Bann) were minors, and as such, were overlooked or set aside in the arrangements entered into between their uncle, Randall, and the Government of James I.

With respect to the foundation of Bun-na-Mairge, we are disposed to think (for reasons already stated), that it was laid previously to the coming of the Welsh MacQuillins into the Route. No doubt, one of their chiefs may have rebuilt the abbey, or restored its revenues, and thus got the credit of being its original founder, just as a chief of the MacDonnells afterwards did, and came in for a similar favour, even among a host of antiquaries who wrote in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The MacQuillin manuscript affirms that Bun-na-Mairge was founded "in the latter end of the fifteenth century, by Charles, son of Donald MacQuillin," but a manuscript list of Franciscan priories, preserved in the British Museum, states that it was built by *Rory* MacQuillin, in the first year of the sixteenth century. We attach greater authority to the latter statement, simply because no Charles or Donald MacQuillin appears at that period in the Annals of Ireland, or in any collection of State Papers already published, whereas, the Rory MacQuillin who submitted in 1542 was evidently an old man, and probably the restorer of Bun-na-Mairge. The name *Thula* is never used in local tradition to designate the Nun; her Irish name was simply *Sheelah Dhuv*, anglicised 'Black Julia.' Nuala was well known as a Christian name frequently given to women among the Irish, but we question whether the form Thula was so applied. Everything considered, we still hold by the opinion that the lady flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century.

An old and highly-respectable family, named *MacIvor*, still lives in Ballycastle. Their ancestor came to the Antrim coast with the MacDonnells, and the tradition has come down in this family to the present day, that Julia MacQuillin occasionally appeared at the castle during its occupation by the family of the first Earl of Antrim, in other words, between the years 1628 and 1642. The social position of the MacIvors secured their admission as welcome guests at the castle, where, in common with other visitors, they sometimes met Sheelah Dhuv, and were amazed (so the tradition tells) at her singularly antiquated dress and demeanour. Mrs. Webb supplies only a part of the story relating to the erring sister whose conduct so troubled the spirit of the 'abbess.' That unfortunate is reported to have been really Sheelah's sister, and to have occasionally dwelt with her, when wearied of wandering in the world. She had a son whose melancholy death drove her finally to Sheelah's cell, where she soon afterwards died. This son was caught up by the machinery of a wind-mill, in the vicinity of the present Bushmills, and thus dashed or crushed to death. His mother did not long survive the shock produced by seeing his mutilated remains. Sheelah is reported to have had little sympathy on this sad occasion, declaring that better could not have befallen mother and son!

The MacQuillin MS., drawn up probably about the beginning of the present century, is evidently open to serious objections respecting dates and names occurring in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The family records, however, in possession of the Wexford branch are highly interesting, and well worthy of being preserved and continued from generation to generation. The older series (collected and arranged by Edward MacQuillin) with all its faults, would be a most welcome document to many readers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*. It preserves many facts connected with this once powerful sept, which, if published entire, might enable us to explain various obscurities connected with the coming of the Scots to the Antrim coast in the sixteenth century.

Belfast. Geo. Hill.

# ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Cannibalism in Ireland.—Dr. O'Donovan [vol. viii., p. 239] has given us a curious miscellany of the opinions of classic writers as to the state of civilisation in Ireland in ancient times. The inconsistency observable among them is singular. In some of the very oldest passages, Ireland is evidently considered as identical with the poetic "Islands of the Blessed," in which the golden age of innocence and purity still continued after all the rest of the world had become corrupted; and yet when other writers (Strabo, for example) come to speak historically of Ireland, they represent its people as sunk in barbarism and brutality! It is well to observe, however, that Strabo does not vouch for the truth of these descriptions On the contrary, he decidedly intimates his distrust of their correctness, while reciting the tales told by real or pretended travellers to the western limit of the ancient world. If the Irish were cannibals, as they reported, the marvel is how these travellers escaped to tell the story. In the classic times, when men's passions were roused, they had a trick of blackening the character of hostile nations: and of this we have a remarkable instance in Cæsar's treatment of the Celts of Gaul. When classic writers have no motive for perverting the truth, they always bear high testimony to the bravery, virtue, and intellectual qualities of the Celtic races. Diogenes Laertius confesses that the oldest Greek philosophy was derived from them. But when Cicero chanced to have a particular purpose in view, he painted the Celtæ of Gaul as a set of the most debased monsters on the face of the earth—hereditary enemies of the gods and of mankind, for whose wickedness the only remedy was extermination! It is now well known that the Celtæ were indeed hostile to the "gods" of the Roman and Greek Pantheon, as their Druidic worship was to a large extent patriarchal, rejecting all images and material symbols of the invisible deity. This was a sufficient ground for national antipathy. MacN.

Brazen Trumpets.—The conjecture thrown out in your article on "Ancient Irish Trumpets" [vol. viii., p. 104, 109], that we may probably look to the east of Asia for the origin of our brazen trumpets, is quite corroborated by a passage I lately met with in a modern book of travels; as is likewise your supposition that the very long trumpets were carried by two men. Erman, a traveller in Siberia and part of Tartary, who has written an admirable account of his journey, describes a visit, in the year 1825, to a Buddhist temple of the Mongols, in the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal.—"When we had dismounted," he says, "and gone between the ranks of the priests, there began a strain of music as overpowering as it was peculiar. Every one of the Lamas contributed something towards it; and we now saw with them gigantic kettle-drums carried on four wheels, and *copper trumpets ten feet long*, the anterior end of which was

rested by the performer on the shoulders of a man standing before him. There were horns of all shapes and sizes, brass gongs and bells, cymbals, wooden drums, triangles, and many other instruments. An *andante* of brass horns and kettle-drums was followed by a Bacchantic *allegro* of all the instruments. The grave prelude of the wind instruments was like a roaring hurricane; and the chorus of the brass gongs, drums, &c., resembled the crash of a falling mountain."—It is extremely probable that our Irish trumpets were used in some similar ceremonial. SENEX.

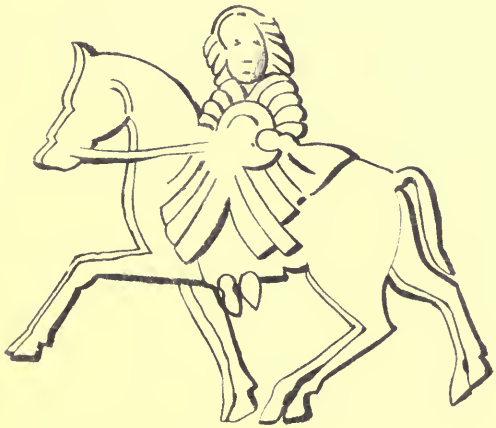
In a note to the article on "The Clan of the MacQuillins of Antrim [vol. iii., p. 251,] the writer, alludes to the extraordinary disappearance of the name M'Quillin from amongst the northern population, "if M'Quilkin be the nearest approach to it that is now to be found amongst the peasantry." On this subject it is to be observed that, while the usual transition process of family names, in this part of Ireland, is their translation from Irish into English, or their transformation into English names resembling the Irish ones in sound (such as *Carolan* into *Carleton*), a counter-process occasionally has taken place. When an English or Lowland Scotch family has been settled in a Gaelic-speaking district, the name has frequently been Hibernicized; thus *Reid* (or as it is sometimes spelled *Reed*), has become *Gilkey*, or *MacGilkey*, by the substitution of an Irish word signifying "a reed;" *Simson* has taken the form *MacKim*; and, in the case before us, *MacQuilkin* is merely the Irish for *Wilkinson*.

MacN.

It is commonly related that Alexander the Great wept on the shore of the Indian Ocean, because he could find no more worlds to conquer. That his peregrinations, however, extended much farther, is proved by a "fact" which was pointed out to my notice in the "far west" of our Western Isle. Travelling, some years ago, in the County of Sligo, I was directed by the driver of the Westport mail-coach to the distant view of Aughris Head, which slopes gently up from the main-land and suddenly terminates in an abrupt precipice whose foot is lashed by the billows of the Atlantic, On the green slope is yearly held a "pattern" or gathering of the people. My informant (a quick-witted, humorous native) proceeded thus:—"There was no place in all the world where Alexander the Great wasn't able to ride his horse till he came to Aughris. There he galloped his horse up to the very edge of the cliff. But when the beast saw the waves raging below, he reared up on his hind legs, and stopped short. The two marks of his hoofs are there still to be seen; and the people clear them out afresh every year. I have seen them myself." What better evidence can be required? PARTHOLANUS.

IRISH BULLS.—The natives of Ireland have long been supposed to excel all nations in the perpetration of "bulls." I question, however, if a more perfect example of this species of blunder can be produced than the following, which is recorded by Miss Pardoe, in her travels in Hungary (*The City of the Magyar*, vol. iii., p. 189):—"The good Padre was evidently at fault when he came to exhibit the museum; but, like Sancho Panza, he seemed

resolved to put a good face upon it; and accordingly, when he saw the traveller pause before two skulls, he lifted one of them in his hand and exclaimed: "Ah! this is indeed a treasure: this, Sir, is the skull of Rakoczy.' The traveller looked at the relic with becoming reverence, and then turning to the smaller one, he asked, 'Is this also the poor remains of a hero?' 'That, Sir,' said the priest, with a little hesitation, succeeded by a sudden and immense increase of importance, 'that, Sir, is perhaps even a greater curiosity than the other—that is the skull of Rakoczy when he was a boy!'" SENEX.



In looking over the beautiful book published by the Spalding Club, entitled "*Ancient Sculptured Stones of Scotland*," I was struck by a singular representation of a woman *riding on two horses at once*. It occurs on the stone at Hilton of Cadboll [plate XXV.], and the figure here given is exactly traced from it. The horses appear keeping step so exactly that we might readily overlook the representation of the second horse, if our attention was not called to it. The figure of the woman is so imperfectly represented that we cannot ascertain distinctly her true position: however, her feet are seen close together, as if she were seated sideways on a some sort of pillion, secured across the two horses. We might suppose that the portion of the seat carried by the second horse could be used for conveying baggage, or that a second woman may have been occasionally placed there. Indeed three women might have travelled on two horses by such a contrivance, the centre one holding the bridle. Where such an arrangement was made for carrying a load on the back of two horses at the same time, it is evident that a slight yoke of wood would be necessary to retain the parallelism of the two animals. I have met with specimens of wooden yokes of this kind in several collections of Irish antiquities: there are some of them in the Royal Irish Academy.—This curious little sculpture, therefore, goes a certain length to prove that the ancient inhabitants of these countries had a method of riding two horses at the same time, like the ancient Assyrians. Of course more evidence is required, but this may be forthcoming when attention has been drawn to the circumstance. It is generally believed at present that the usage of women riding alone sideways is quite modern in these countries. Spanish women still ride, when alone, like men; but when going to a bull-fight with their male relatives, they ride, like our Irishwomen, on pillions behind them. C.

SHAKSPEARE.—Blair, in his *Lectures*, censures, for confusion of metaphors, Hamlet's

> "Or to take arms against a *sea* of troubles."

Some defend this on the principle that many words, from constant use, lose their original metaphorical signification, and acquire a derived sense which may be taken directly, without any reference to the implied comparison. The Greek phrase κλυδων κακῶν, "a surging sea of evils," agrees with the expression in question. The Greeks, however, had another phrase—Ιλιας κακῶν, "an Iliad of evils," which comes very near to the reading proposed by some recent editors of Shakspeare—"a *siege* of troubles." This is further recommended by a parallel passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act v., Scene 3 :—

> "You, to remove that *siege of grief* from her,
> Betrothed, and would have married her perforce
> To County Paris."

T.H.P.

A practice exists (or existed twenty-two years ago) at Cong, in the County of Galway, of erecting, in a large bare field outside the village, heaps, of various shapes and sizes, of the loose pieces of grey limestone with which the country is strewn. These are in memory of individuals buried in the precincts of the ancient Abbey of Cong, which is (as usual in such places) overcrowded with interments. After each burial in the Abbey-ground, the friends erect in that field a pile of stones as a sort of cenotaph of the deceased. Does a similar custom prevail anywhere else? N. Q.

PAUL JONES.—In Lisburn Cathedral is a monument to Lieutenant Wm. Dobbs, who was killed in an engagement with the famous pirate, Paul Jones, in 1778. He belonged to his Majesty's ship "Drake." S.

HORSE SHOES [vol. iii., p. 149].—Your correspondent INCREDULUS is certainly wrong in supposing that the Romans were unacquainted with the use of iron horse-shoes. Appian distinctly mentions one. That they were used also by the ancient Britons, is proved by the discovery of several by Sir R. C. Hoare in a British barrow.

CREDO.

I have in my possession a silver penny, inscribed EDWA. R. ANG. DNS. HYB., and reverse, CIVITAS LONDON., which was given to me in 1853, and which had been found, some years previously, in the old masonry beneath the great stone Cross of Arboe (County Tyrone), by the owner of the land, Mr. Trainor. The Cross had been lying prostrate for a long time, and it was during the operation of raising it once more into an erect position that the discovery was made. Mr. Trainor stated to me that, from the situation in which the coin was found, under a portion of the masonry, he was of opinion that it must have been dropped or deposited there during the progress of the building. If so, does it determine the date of the original erection of the Cross; or have we any evidence to prove that this took place at an earlier period?

Belfast. J. W. MURPHY.

# ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

The following notices may perhaps interest the readers of this *Journal*,, more particularly LINUM, who makes an inquiry [vol. v., p. 352] on the subject.

The common statement is correct, that it is only thirty years since the spinning of flax first commenced in Belfast, spreading thence to various localities in Antrim, Down, Armagh, Derry, and elsewhere, till it has reached a height in this province, exceeding, I believe, that in any other part of the world, and exercising an influence on its prosperity, or at least, on that of Belfast, (which is the centre of the trade) not to be easily overrated. This comparatively sudden rise of a trade of such great magnitude, makes any record of its early history worth preserving, in an archæological point of view. Though the year 1829 is understood to mark the great era of its commencement, it appears that before that time attempts had been made in several parts of the country to spin flax by machinery. Two places, (one of which is also mentioned by LINUM) where there were such mills about a half a century ago, are known to me. It is unnecessary to say that at this period the yarn which supplied the linen manufacture of the North of Ireland, was, excepting in these old mills, entirely produced by hand-spinning, which formed the great domestic employment in the families of the small farmers of Ulster. This precarious source of supply had no doubt often attracted the attention of enterprising individuals, and caused attempts at spinning on a larger scale to be made. Of the two mills alluded to, one was at the village of Cushendall, and the other near Broughshane, both in the county of Antrim. The former is still standing: it may probably be taken as a fair example of the mills of the time; and, if placed in juxta-position with one of the great modern establishments of Belfast, would present a truly remarkable contrast. It is such a building as might be suitable for the barn of an ordinary farm, being about thirty-five feet long, and sixteen or eighteen high. In this house, then, yarn was spun by machinery driven by water, so long back the time as I have mentioned. From recent inquiry, I have learned that part of the flax which supplied the mill was grown in the vicinity; but that a portion was also bought in Belfast, and conveyed to that distant locality on a cart, or more probably a "wheel-ear," by one or other of the then miserable roads leading to Cushendall, a journey either way of not less than two days. It was certainly the spinning of flax "under difficulties," and difficulties apparently not capable of being surmounted, as the manufacture in that place seems to have continued but a very few years. The writer of this, when walking lately up one of the worst hills on the old road leading from Ballymena to Cushendall—a road which was the only one in use twenty years ago, and which was so bad as to be a formidable

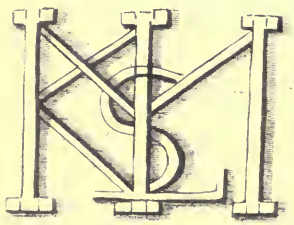
obstacle to any improvement in the district, and almost a complete bar to intercourse with the coast—overtook, toiling up the weary ascent, an old man, a native of the place, who told him that one of the greatest days he had ever seen on that hill was when he, and almost the entire of the thin population around, had assembled to assist in pushing up a cart which had come all the way from Dublin, carrying a cask of oil to supply the machinery of the flax mill at Cushendall! The perfect accuracy of this statement in the main is not to be doubted. It has also been stated to me, and if correct, and hitherto unrecorded, it is a circumstance well worthy of note, that in one of these mills—that at Broughshane—*wet* spinning (the great point of distinction between these early struggles in the manufacture and its present advanced position), was actually anticipated. This was effected by placing a little tin filler or tun-dish over each revolving spindle, from which water dripped on the yarn: the old woman wetting her fingers, to facilitate the process of the conversion of flax into yarn, being in truth the original hint which suggested wet spinning, and of which this was a variety.

The writer of these notes is unable to communicate to Linum or other inquirers, the exact time when the mills here mentioned were in operation. So far as an inquiry not very minute would lead, the year 1810 might be fixed on as the period; but it is possible these remarks may come under the notice of those who may have it in their power to fix the time with precision. This is the more desirable on account of the claim made by the French that they were the first to spin flax by machinery, and this not much before the year 1812. Due inquiry, I have little doubt, would show an earlier date for dry spinning by some kind of machinery, either in this country or Great Britain, or in both; to which opinion I am led, among other reasons, from having been informed that the operatives who superintended the working of the Cushendall mill came from Scotland. G. B.

Collin-Ward [vol. viii., p. 152].—In the Orkney and Shetland Islands a *wart*, or *ward*, is a mound thrown up on high ground, from which signals were made. (See Barry's *Orkney Islands*, p. 95.) It is mentioned in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, that "the ancient inhabitants of those islands set up, on eminences round the harbours, *warts* or marks to direct the course of vessels sailing along the coast, placing one near the point of each arm of the harbour, and a third near the bottom." *Berg-ward* was a term in the old Swedish laws, denoting the watches kept on mountains and headlands against the approach of an enemy. The hill called Collin-ward, near Belfast, no doubt received the latter part of its name from its having been used as a signal-post. Any one who stands on the top of this hill will be struck with its admirable position for such a purpose as regards the mouth of Belfast harbour; being right opposite to it, so that it commands a better view of everything that enters the Lough than its neighbour, the Cave-hill, which, although a more prominent object in the landscape, is several feet lower. The height of the cairn on Collin-ward, as given by the Ordnance Survey, is 1185 feet; whilst the highest part of the Cave-hill is 1181. Collin-ward is a lonely, unfrequented hill,

and I question if a dozen persons in Belfast have been on the top of it; but the view which it commands is eminently beautiful. The first portion of its name is probably the old Irish one, and is also the name of another well-known hill of the same range, towards Lisburn: what it signifies I do not know; but the latter part of the name is not Irish, and must have been given either by the Scandinavians or by the early Norman or English settlers. The word *ward*, in various forms, is found in all the Scandinavian languages: Icelandic, *vard;* Swedish, *vaerd.* In English we have still the old phrase, "to keep watch and ward." SENEX.

## QUERIES.



The monogram, of which the annexed is a copy, appears cut in relief on a small stone which is shown to visitors by the custodian of the ruins at Grey Abbey, County of Down. The slab is detached, so that I could not ascertain from what part of the old Abbey it had been taken. Is this a "mason's mark," or the monogram of the founder of the Abbey; and if the latter, what name do the letters represent?

F.D.F.

Can any one explain the meaning of the following quotations from Sir Charles Coote's *Survey of the County of Armagh*, drawn up, as the preface states, in 1802 and 1803, probably written the year before, and, therefore, having an antiquity of sixty years? In reference to Newry, Sir Charles says [p. 380]:—"A canal has been in contemplation, to be cut from this town to Armagh, and *an iron road* is also talked of, but there has been no decision in either case." In the same page, when writing of the flourishing state of the butter trade of Newry, he has the following remark:—"This trade will doubtless be injured when a canal or *iron road* from Castleblayney to Dundalk is completed, *which is determined on.*" The Italics are my own, as it is the mention of an iron road or railway, at this early period in Ireland, which I desire to notice. It was nearly thirty years after this time before the first iron way was opened in England; of course I mean with views so extensive and peculiar as those apparently contemplated also by the railway speculators at Armagh and Louth, of sixty years ago. A notice of the subject so early, and in such a quarter, is new to me; it may not be so to others, and this note may perhaps draw out some explanation. G. B.

When were outside jaunting-cars first used in Ireland? They seem to be purely an Irish invention, and I am not aware of anything like them in the world. The Swiss *char-à-banc* is the only vehicle that approaches them in form. It agrees with the Irish outside car in so far as the passengers sit side-ways; but they only face one way. The *char-à-banc* may, indeed, be roughly described as an Irish car split up the middle: and it is altogether a heavier machine than ours.

VIATOR.

We have in the North of Ireland a number of old phrases which are occasionally met with, but the meaning and origin of which are growing obscure. It would be well to record them. What is the precise meaning of the saying—"An east rain makes fools fain?" and what is the origin of the phrase—"To run the rig on a person?"

ERASMUS.

# THE OLD BARDS OF ULSTER.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE.

"I had heard of our bards, and my soul was on fire
At the rush of their verse, and the sweep of their lyre.
* * *
Ultonia's old heroes awoke at the call,
And renew'd the wild pomp of the chase and the hall:
And the standard of Fionn flash'd fierce from on high,
Like a burst of the sun when the tempest is nigh.
* * *
And it seem'd that the harp of Green Erin once more
Could renew all the glories she boasted of yore."

*The Exile's Return to Ulster.*

Having continued some researches into the history of the Irish Bards, in order to supply memoirs that may serve for a full account of this remarkable professional caste, a portion relating to Ulster is now offered. The rich collection of Gaelic poetry in the library of the Royal Irish Academy having been generally noticed in my former paper on the "Munster Bards," I need do no more than extract the ensuing notices of the poetry relating to this province, from the elaborate catalogue of those MSS., compiled by the learned Mr. Eugene Curry.

Among the Irish tales preserved in this repository is a very characteristic one called *The Plunder of the Cows of Cuailgne*, or Cooley, near Carlingford, a story which vividly elucidates the pastoral and predatory habits of the ancient Ultonians. The tale commences by relating how the King and Queen of Connaught indulged in rival exhibitions of their wealth; her majesty enjoying, *more patriæ*, a separate property, which consisted in jewels, apparel, flocks of sheep, herds of cows and swine, and a stud of horses. Against these the king produces their equal in value, and, in excess, a beautiful young bull, not to be matched in the herds of his consort, who immediately despatches her head-messenger to seek out a match. At length one is found in the possession of Fergus, King of Ulster, who declares he will give it to the queen of the West. In the meanwhile, the messenger, exulting in his success (and it may be, whilst under the influence of metheglin), is heard to boast that if the beauteous bull had not been given up it would have been taken. This truculent speech causes Fergus to recal his promise. Her majesty, in her discontent, offers her loveliest daughter to the Ulster prince, but in vain; and this *spreta injuria formæ* is avenged by a war, in which Cuchulainn and the knights of the Red Branch are defeated, and the coveted bull, with all the plunder of the North, which had been sent for safety to the Glens of Carlingford, is carried off.

The real archæologic value of old tales and romances, such as this, "King Arthur," &c., consists, of course, in the fact that, as the writers usually depicted the state of things as they were in their time, and such compositions shed tolerably true lights on ancient manners and customs. Their date is therefore a matter of interest: but in the present case I cannot offer any opinion on this point.

Another antique tale, called "*Brickreud's Feast,*" is equally graphic, narrating how Brickreud, a poet and satirist, the great mischief-maker of the Ultonians, set the King of Ulster and the Knights of the Red Branch and their wives at loggerheads during a feast, by means of his praises, which excited calumny and envy. This short story is replete with curious incidents, sometimes wild and always racy of the soil, portraying ideas and facts truthfully and interestingly. It is followed by a story relating how that king and his knights were constrained to procure a wife for the over-fascinating Cuchulainn. This poetic *conte immorale* also preserves many traits of social manners. A MS. entitled "Conchulinn's Acts," was in the library of the ninth Earl of Kildare. A Fenian poem, by Oisin, in the former depository, and of a similar erotic character, is founded on the same idea as that of the British ballad which describes the presentation of a miraculously shrinking mantle, as a touchstone of fidelity, to the ladies of King Arthur's court. Next follows "*The Decline of Cuchulainn, and the Jealousy of his wife, Eimir,*" written in very archaic language, and containing some curious cases of Druidism, witchcraft, and the supernatural interference of fairies and evil spirits. Tales like these are of historic interest, if their traditions and analogies tend to prove such points as the extraction of the Irish from the British Celts, and their connection with the Scandinavian Scots.

Another versification is addressed to O'Melaghlin, descendant of the once powerful branch of the O'Neills, who long were chieftains of Meath, by Dermot Mac-an-Bhaird, (MacWard) deprecating the assumption of the Red Hand on the banner of this house, because the ensign belonged exclusively, as the bard declared, to the Clan Magennis. Owen O'Donnelly, following MacWard, argues in measured rhymes on the same side, contending that the symbol in dispute was derived from the Knights of the Red Branch, and that, for this reason, it appertained to Magennis, as senior representative of Conall Cearnach, the most distinguished of those heroes, and not to any O'Neill, whose ancestors, although having no connexion with those chivalrous soldiers by descent, had usurped the sovereignty of Ulster, and assumed their terrible cognizance. Unfortunately we cannot quote any bardic counsellors on the side of the defendants: yet, doubtless, the heraldic question raised by the honest *Senachie,* (which opens up researches of some interest, but too remote for our theme, being no other than the origin of those semi-mythic guardsmen, styled "of the Red Branch"), was as warmly contested as the celebrated controversy between Scrope and Grosvenor, about a coat of arms, in which Geoffrey Chaucer figured as a witness.

Having already commented in this *Journal* on the poetic relics called Ossianic, I will merely remark that these fragments of metrical lore are well worthy of attention if they lead the student into impartial researches as to the origin of the inhabitants of this kingdom. This primary

class of native poetry contains grains of historic wheat in it's heap of chaff. Some of these ancient poems, if published, would tend largely to elucidate our pre-historic period; for example, the illustrious chief of the Finians, the remarkable Fionn MacCumhal, prototype of "Fingal," gave laws to Erin, couched in verses which were extant so recently as the time of the author of *Ogygia*.

Although most of the entries in Irish chronicles that date prior to the Christian era are too apocryphal to merit full credence, we must notice the record that Ollav Fodhla, who is said to have become king of Ireland, A.M. 3882, derived his name, as asserted, from having been *ollav* or chief poet of the kingdom. Can it be implied from this semi-rhythmic legend, that he owed his regal power to his supremacy over the bardic tribes? The derivation of his name is also an interesting question, since our province is said by some to have derived its name from his. This poet-monarch is declared to have been the first Irish prince that made some sage attempts towards establishing a feudal monarchal dynasty, for it is he that is traditionally stated to have appointed a chieftain and inferior tenants to every cantred, or barony, in the kingdom, with royal service as their tenure; he also constructed a walled house on Tara Hill, in the central plain of Erin; and, as a means of inviting loyalty, instituted the annual supper or feast at Tara, attendance at which was held to be a sign of loyalty. No institution could be better calculated than this yearly gathering, considering the times and the people, for ensuring a full court; since the festive board was a congenial theatre for inculcating nationality, supported as it was by an orchestra of harps and a chorus of bards. Yet the times and the country were clearly insufficiently advanced to permit a king to use the mildest instead of the severest form of feudality. The ceremony of *Dal-ina-teagh*, (or, coming to the house of a chief), might be considered, as it was, a sign of vassalage; yet there could be no monarchal power, no right, without the ability to enforce it. The design of feudal tenure was to organize a nation, which the customs of tanistry and royal elections, without authority to dispossess rebels to government, could not do. In this point of view, it is to be regretted that the Irish bards did not combine to support the sagacious design of this chief poet and king, by announcing their determination to satirize all opponents of the sensible monarch and his constitutional successors, and to uphold the principle of taking fee-land from men who had made bad use of it, and giving it to supporters of law and order.

According to a learned note in Reeves's *Life of St. Columba*, the bards were, under Christianity, the representatives of the old pagan *Magi*, or Druids, of Ireland. They were, says the annotator, a very influential class at all times; and, from their numbers, when superadded to the clergy, a very oppressive one. From their exorbitant demands, arose the legend of their *Cori panti*, *i.e.* basket of covetousness, which was the depository of their gains. They are said to have been in danger, on three occasions, of expulsion from the kingdom, and each time to have found in a king of Ulster a successful intercessor. On this point the ensuing passage is derived from Mr. E. Curry's elaborate catalogue above cited, which explains the circumstances under which Dallan

Fergall composed an eulogium on Columbkille, considered by scholars the most difficult piece of composition in the Irish language, and held as the test of proficiency in the antique form of this Celtic dialect. Its origin is as follows:—a meeting was held, A.D. 590, at Drumceat, near Derry, at which a Scottish king was present, attended by Columbkille, from Iona. One matter of state requiring settlement at this assembly was the case of the poets and literary men of Ireland, who were become so numerous and burthensome that it had been resolved to banish them. Columbkille, however, made such efforts in their behalf, that it was arranged they should be maintained for three years longer, on condition that the extravagant number of their attendants should be reduced. In gratitude, the reprieved masters of verse composed and then sang, in joyous chorus, a poem in praise of their preserver, arranged to a peculiarly noble and melodious air. Among the rest came this blind *Fergall*, improvising an ode to the saint, who, however, modestly desired that, as the style was elegiac, the proposed extempore, or *pro re natâ*, poem should be reserved until it would serve *pro re defunctâ* after his decease.

Among the poetry attributed to St. Columba himself are verses of some curiosity, in illustrating the cotemporary state of the country:—thus, at the close of one poem [*Life*, p. 275], the saint observes, that he has loved Erin, "*all but its government*," a sentiment quite intelligible when collated with other verses of his [*Irish Arch. Misc.*, vol. i., p. 8], in which he speaks of "an island in the middle of a lake" as the only position in which life might be deemed tolerably secure. To such islands, verily, fled the saints of early Christian ages, when they were as much persecuted, as exponents of novel doctrines and interests, as in later ages were the bards, as exponents of old ones.

Having largely quoted *The Book of Rights* in my paper on the Munster Bards, in order to demonstrate the ancient importance of the bardic order, in their capacity of oral registrars of rights and usages, I will not dip further into that valuable record than to notice certain curious "prohibitions" attached to the King of the clan O'Neill, who, it seems, was forbidden

> "To make peace with the Dal Araidhe ever,
> And war with Conall."

Now, I may remark, on this verse, that the Dal Araidhe were the *dal*, or tribe, descended from Fiach *Araidhe*, chief of the Ulster Cruithne, or Picts, who, probably, were the original possessors of Ulster, and who, therefore, were to be subdued by the conquering Clanna Neill. On the other hand, the prohibition against war, or the necessity of peace, between the cognate clans, the Cineal Eoghain (O'Neills), and Cineal Conaill (O'Donnells), was founded on experience; and it is remarkable that the war made by Shane O'Neill on the O'Donnells, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was the proximate cause of his ruin, and that the enmity between O'Neill and O'Donnell, at Kinsale, in 1602, was the cause of their signal defeat there, and of the downfal of both races.

Passing from that book to the bardic relic next in point of chronologic sequence, we come to the historically valuable poem, entitled "*The Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach MacNeill,*

*Prince of Aileach,*" written in the year 942, by Cormacan *Eigeas, i.e.*, the poet, an attendant of this chief, who was commonly called "Murtogh of the Leather Cloaks," from having provided mantles of hides for his soldiers on the wintry expedition described in the poem. The value of this metrical narrative, published by the Irish Archæological Society, consists in its political and social revelations. Bearing intrinsic evidence of its contemporary, authentic nature, it is to be regarded as one of the earliest north European historical ballads. Its argument is, that the king of Aileach (a cyclopean stone fort on Lough Swilly), in order, by striking terror through Ireland, to ensure his accession to the monarchy, made the following *coup d'ètat.* In the depth of winter, when all were unexpecting and unprepared, he suddenly set out with a force of one thousand chosen men, to make "the circuit of Ireland," and either seized and carried off the persons of the provincial kings, or obtained hostages from them. On the literary style of this singular poem, we may remark, although no judges of its merits in the original Gaelic, that it is free from wordiness and bombast, and is humorous, and expressive. The poet declares that, on the day of the adventurous march of the brave ten hundred—

"Many were the tears down beauteous cheeks,
Among the fair-haired women of Aileach."

The leader of the erratic band was accompanied, however, by Dan Cupid, as far as the trenches of Dublin, (Ath-cliath) where he had an love adventure—Cormacan *cecinit:*—

"We were a night at fair Ath-cliath;
It was not pleasing to the Galls (*i.e.*, the Danes);
There was a damsel in the strong fortress (*dun*),
Whose soul the son of Niall was;
She came forth until she was outside the walls,
Although the night was constantly bad."

Let us hope the gallant prince lent the maiden his leather cloak.—During other nocturnal bivouacs, the troop was enlivened with music and dancing. Dublin was evidently too well fortified and defended for Murtagh and his thousand to dare to attack it. Other seats of power being less well protected, the terror-striker surprised and carried off several provincial kings as hostages; and by this circuitous course of intimidation, paved the way for being acknowledged, on the death of the titular King of the Irish Gael, successor to this sovereign, the merely nominal character and valueless nature of whose power are proved by the fact that, instead of punishing Murtagh for surprising and imprisoning some of his nominal subjects, he sent a message applauding him for what he done.

Certainly all the invaders of Ireland gained less by their valour than from the miserable dissensions of the native chieftains, whose frequent quarrels, arising out of questions of subordination or of disputed territory, were constantly submitted to the doubtful arbitration of the sword, in default of a central court of judicature, and of a monarch powerful enough to enforce its decrees. The claim of O'Neill to seniority over O'Donnell was a lasting and fertile feud. In the year 1258, when

Godfrey, the latter chief, lay wounded to death in an island-fortress in Loch Veagh, his adversary deeming the opportunity favourable for subduing the "sick man," assembled forces and invaded him. Rousing his departing spirit for the contest, the brave chieftain, whose wounds had been received in an encounter with Lord Justiciary FitzGerald whilst expelling the invaders from the west, ordered his clan to be marshalled, and caused himself to be carried on a bier in the midst of their ranks to battle. The opposing army was defeated, and, during the return of the victors, the bier on which their leader lay being set down in the street of Conwal, his soul departed;—"the death," as the bardic chroniclers of his clan truly say, "of a hero." His successor, a mere youth, refused also to acknowledge any obedience, appealing to the celebrated proverb, in the Scottish Gaelic, that "every man should have his own world." It was in the same year that the last instance occurred in which the native chiefs attempted to unite and elect a sovereign, an instance that has escaped the notice of historians. Meeting at Belleek, on the Erne, they conferred the dignity on Brian O'Neill, who, soon after, fought the Englishry of the North in the battle of Down. One of the most ancient, best authenticated, and least varnished of Irish poems[a] is that composed on "the Battle of Down," by the bard of Brian O'Neill, the defeated chieftain, who was slain in that engagement, which was fought in 1260, and this versified lament was composed soon after the event. The battle was gained by Stephen de Longespée, who, as Lord Justiciary of the English colonists, led their levies of armed men up to the scene of action. Our bard, in accounting for the disastrous defeat of his chief, lays stress on the contrast presented by the combatants as to means of defence, for while the assailants were provided with panoplies of armour, the natives had but shirts:—

"The foreigners from London,
The hosts from Waterford,
Came in a bright green body thither,
In gold and bright armour.
Unequal engaged in the conflict
The Gaels and the foreigners;
Mere linen shirts on the Clan O'Neill,
But the foreigners one mass of iron!"

Indeed, all the native combatants from the mountain districts in the British islands met the English under the immense disadvantages which uncivilized races have to contend with when opposed to a united and wealthy people. At Bannockburn, the Welsh troops, under Sir Maurice Berkeley, amazed even their ill-clothed conquerors by appearing simply in shirts; and at the battle of Wakefield, one of the hardest contested fields during the sanguinary Wars of the Roses, the Irish, under Lord FitzGerald, "fought," says a contemporary chronicler,[b] "with astonishing bravery; but, having their bodies uncovered, according to custom, they were cut to pieces." It

[a] Miscell. of Celtic Society. [b] Polydore Virgil.

would seem that they stripped themselves either quite naked, or retained a mere wisp of linen about their loins, as their countrymen continued to do in the sixteenth century, and as the Highlanders did in the last century. At Killicrankie and Sheriffmuir, the Highlanders threw off their plaids, or their coats, and went down naked to the death-struggle. In modern warfare, in which "villainous saltpetre" plays, from the cannon's and the musket's mouth, the part performed of old by arrows, the Celtic custom of stripping to the shirt for battle, and even, if the work prove hot, to the skin, might perhaps prove a sensible preliminary to charging with the bayonet. Our bard, unaware of the politico-economic truth, that superiority in implements of war generally ensures victory to those who possess it, discovers the cause of the disaster in the fact that Sunday was the day chosen by the defeated chieftains for going into action! Superstition so powerful as this was certain to retard progress, and in the meanwhile, a less scrupulous enemy had but to press on an engagement on the day that would dishearten his over-timid foes.

After the battle, the head of the slain O'Neill was forwarded to the King of England, as a trophy; but instead of being placed on a pole on London Bridge, according to ordinary usage, it was buried in that city with the honourable decency due to this noblest part of a brave and independent prince of the Gael, who had boldly and patriotically withstood the conquerors of his country. Poetry in another language than our own loses much by translation, yet we find, in the following version of the bard's burst of sorrow, a touching simplicity and pathos :—

"There is in London, under a white flag-stone,
A head which the Gael would dearly ransom.
All my cattle, although thou hearest it not, O head!
I would give to ransom thee!"

Cattle, indeed, were the mourner's sole wealth; and we can believe his heart-felt, reiterated exclamations that he would give all he ever possessed to see his king alive again. He declares that he owed whatever he once had to the bounty of his dead lord. His simple statements of that gratefully remembered liberality disclose the rude state of his country and times. He was an old man, but recollected how, in former days, when King Brian ruled over central Ulster, the kings were wont to encourage and reward his poetic talent by gifts which, although appearing strange and unsuitable in our eyes, were more valuable to the laureate of a king of herdsmen than the pension Queen Elizabeth promised to the author of the *Faerie Queen*. MacConmidhe writes :—

"He gave (at one time) twenty horned cows
For my poem, it was a goodly purchase,
And my honour was greater and better
Than if they had been golden-horned.
I brought away with me on another day
Twenty cows at May-day,
Along with much other wealth besides,
Not counting gold or raiment,

I received a better gift,
The blessing of the chief king,
The reward for my poem was not trifling;
But more lasting was the fame of his blessing."[c]

This is, in true feeling and loyalty, not inferior to the well-known sentiments placed by the master-hand of Scott in the mouth of another chieftain's bard.—Our elegiast next deplores that since the defeat and death of his sovereign and protector, his substance has been a spoil and a prey:—

"All have poured from east to west
Upon my cattle, since the good Brian departed;
They and the king passed away at the same time;
The noble Brian! from whom I received them.
Yet, were we without house, without cow,
For want of them we would not repine;
And there would not be want felt in my house
If the good king of Ulster were living."

These extracts, though taken from a literal, unpolished translation, cannot but be admired, since they contain the very germ of sympathy in the truth of the grief uttered by the aged bard in bewailing his bereavements. If one may pass from grave to gay, in the vein of those ancient, mad wits, Shakespeare's "fools," scatter-brained fellows that jumped from melancholy to mirth and then back again with reckless agility, one might say that our poet, who was paid in cows, and plainly lived on their mild produce, is by no means milk-and-watery; considering, besides, the title he gives his poem, styling it and beginning it with the forcible and thoroughly Irish expression for the sense of deep sorrow:—"Death of my Heart!" The learned translator of this specimen of Gaelic antique poetry passes by unnoticed these fresh and life-warm bursts of elegiac minstrelsy, and concludes his comments on the historic value of the composition thus:—

"This poem affords curious glimpses into the distracted state of Ireland at the period, and, into the kind of monarchal sway which the family of O'Neill claimed. The bard boasts of victories gained by Brian and his ancestors in their own province over their neighbours in Eastern Ulster, and over the kindred race of the O'Donnells. He next speaks of the *proud* circumstance, that Brian's ancestors had in their hall a chess-board, formed of the bones of their hereditary enemies, the Leinster men, which is rather a barbaric boast in 1260." O'Neill's forefather, Muireheartach,

[c] In comparison with this liberality of O'Neillmore to his bard, MacConmidhe, the butt of sack yearly doled out by the King of England to his laureate was a miserable stint. The price of the precious metals, as a circulating medium, diminishes as they become more plentiful, while the value of so common an animal as the cow must continue comparatively stationary: so that we may judge how a literary man was appreciated in the fourteenth century, when O'Mulconry, "a chief chronicler and very authentic author," having been slain in chance-medley, the offender was mulcted to the extent of 126 cows." No doubt MacConmidhe qualified the milk of his cows with whiskey, according to the custom of the O'Neills. His surname is now usually spelt MacNamee. Eleven of this name, all "rhymers," obtained state pardons in 1604.

King of Ulster, had, it seems, in his memorable "circuit," made in the year 942, carried off the body of a king of Leinster, and made a "pair of tables," either for chess or back-gammon, of his bones, "which," say the annals, "for a long time after were kept as a monument in the King of Ulster's house." The translator's comments continue:—

"The only fact referred to, worthy of an Irish prince of the house of O'Neill, or which can be considered national glory, is the carrying off" (by the same Muircheartach) "of hostages and tribute from the Danes of Dublin. Not a single victory over the English is referred to, and the bard had nothing to say on this subject, except that they had achieved nothing in Ulster until they slew his hero."

This is a crushing criticism on a mere provincial elegy, simply sung by an old bard, nearly six hundred years ago, under *Sliabh Sneachta*, (*i.e.* "the snow-capped mountain" now *Sliav Snaght)*, in an uttermost wild of Donegal, whither the hero of the verse had often retreated with his clan before any irresistible Norman incursion. When first sung, that rude lay was history; it is even more so to us; and, in possessing evident innate truth, has value in our eyes. For of its hero chief we are not to imagine that, because one of his ancestors, some three centuries back, had played a hit at *beg-camaun, i.e.*, the little game, with men carved out of an hereditary foe's bones, that his position was not much superior in civilization to that of a contemporary chief of Mohawks or Cherokees. On the contrary, even if he was not nearly as polished as Fergus M'Ivor was when hunting the deer on the hills, his personal and mental qualities were such that he was chosen among the chiefs of the whole country to be their head and leader against the invaders; and it appears by his effigy on his signet seal (lately found near Beverley, in Yorkshire), that he owned, besides this civilized appliance, as long a sword as his slayer, De Longespée, would have drawn against him.[d] At any rate, to his old bard and elegiast we are obliged for a very curious insight into the history of those dark days.

Some of the traditional nomenclature in this poem is suggestive. Thus, when reading of the *muintir milidh Teamhrach*, as designating the monarchal and pseudo-Milesian race, the O'Neills, we incline to believe that the word *milidh* is the Gaelic form of the Latin *milites*,[e] and that it was first

[d] Celtic Society's Miscellany of Tracts.

[e] It seems that the *muintir milidh*, or military people, were called by the Hibernians *Scuitha*, a name latinised Scoti, whence St. Patrick writes of them by this term, and implies that they were the rulers of the Hibernians. The origin of this word seems to be the *Skuthai* of Greek writers, and *Scythæ* of Roman. In the sixth century, Gildas calls the Irish sea *Scythica Vallis*, probably because it was infested by Scotic maranders. Malachi, in his statements to St. Bernard, which, probably, give the truest insight into the ancient state of Ulster, shows that the rulers there called themselves Scots. The obviousness of the above derivation of the term "Milesian" is seen in the acknowledgement in Connellan's Translation of the Irish Annals, that the first man who bore it was so called because he was a famous *milidh*, or military commander. *Ech-milidh*, *i.e.*, the horse-soldier, was a not uncommon name in our northern province, and it is likely that the "Knights of the Red Branch" were no other than horse-guards, who wore red coloured twigs as their cognizance in battle.

used to designate the Scottish soldier-guards of the original Pictish dynasty of Tara. Again, the men of Oriel, whose ancestors appear by the "*Book of Rights*" to have been *luchd-tighe*, or household troops, and to have been subsequently known as the Fianna, or clan of hired militia, are mentioned as "the soldiers of Eamhain," which seems to imply that they were mercenary guards of the Pictish kings of Emania. Further on, we come upon "Magnus O'Cathain of Inver-Abhaidh," whose name and residence suggest a vik-ing extraction and employment. Then, with regard to the ancient feud between the northern and southern Irish, to which our mediæval bard alludes in his plenitude of rancour, and which lasted with such constant bitterness that it prevented the Confederate Catholics of 1646 from combining for national objects, does not his record of this great enmity serve to warrant an idea that the northerns and southerns were of distinct races, and that the Scotic O'Neills ousted the Pictish, or British Lagenians from Tara? We venture to think these suggestions may tend to develope the truth of the mythic or semi-fabulous portion of the history of our country.

Whatever distinction there may have been between certain bards of various extraction, such as those of British or Pictish immigrant race, commonly called Celtic or Gaelic, and those of Scandinavian or Teutonic extraction, commonly called Danish, it is difficult to perceive the difference now. The general features of bardism in Ireland are in common with those of Britain; yet it would seem that some of the bards of this country were of Scandinavian descent, and it is likely that the *skalds* and Irish *sgealaidhe*, or story-tellers, were much alike.

The bards may have attributed antique native origin to the O'Neills, though conquerors of the aborigines, in order to give antiquity to their title, though it is clear from the annals that they displaced the original possessors of Tara and the surrounding country. In my opinion, the ancestors of the O'Conors were a Pictish race, in possession of Tara. It is certain that the *Cruithnigh*, *i.e.*, painted men, synonymous with British, were settled in Roscommon, the region of the O'Conors, and in Down and Antrim. Reviewing bardic accounts, it would seem that, broadly considered, the following clans were of British origin:—Almost all the Leinster septs, as the O'Conors-Faly, after their expulsion by Scotic usurpers; all those in whose names *Bren*, *i.e.*, Briton, enters, as the Brennaghs, Brennans, Briens, Byrnes, Breens, Siol-branagh, and also Siol-malaoir; but excepting the M'Dubhgalls, or Doyles, M'Donnells, and some others. Some likewise of the Ulster septs, as the Dal-a-raidhe, or Clan-Rory, the race styled by the bards "of Ir;" and the M'Quillans, *i.e.*, Mac-Llewellyns. The following Ulster clans would seem to be paternally of Scotic, perhaps of Scandinavian origin:—The Hy-Niall, M'Sweeneys, M'Cabes, M'Mahons, and M'Gilmores. These races probably gave the name of Scotia to this country.

On the name of Ireland, it may be observed that Iar-land is the Western Land, and that *Eir-e*, the chief appellation, pronounced as two syllables, means the Western Island.

Besides the above-mentioned breeds of bards, there were the minstrels of Norman and English

races, whom we shall notice under their appropriate province, Leinster, at a future time; for the present merely remarking that a notable historic event, the slaughter of the Earl of Louth and his friends, in 1333, at Ballybragan, is noticeable for two attendant incidents bearing on my theme—viz., that an old nurse warned the victims of their fate, in a song commencing—"All the joy of my heart is the hearing," and that in the massacre was slain one O'Carroll, who is declared to have been the most famous musician of his day.

The annalist Friars of Donegal record that, in the year 1387, Niall O'Neill, King of Ulster, built a house at Eamania (now Navan Fort, near Armagh), for the entertainment of the learned men of Ireland. Eamania, or Navan-hill, was an apt Parnassus for the northern bards, whom the scene, and the vicinity of Creeveroe, *i.e.*, the red branch, would inspire to sing of the glories of the time when Eamania flourished as the site of a dynasty, and when Cuchullin "led the Red Branch Knights to danger." During that century, O'Dugan, in a topographical poem on Ulster, celebrates this province as "the land of hospitality and spears," and passes an encomium on two of the principal chieftains by declaring that "their plunders are *great* plunders." Yet although those chiefs may not have wanted, any more than the chieftains of the Rhine, much that conquerors should have, their eulogists appear to have been less prosperous, since Fearfassa O'Gneeve, a distinguished scion of the family of hereditary poets to the Clanneboy O'Neills, laments, in verses dated 1450, commencing—"Alas, that I have followed the science of my fathers!"—the destitution of the bards of his day. Under a date ten years subsequent, the annalists record the death of Felim O'Neill, an eminent protector of the learned, and one who had purchased more poetry, and had a larger collection of poems than any other man of his time. His son, Brian, is also stated to have been "illustrious for hospitality, and for dexterity at arms, and for his purchase of poems and songs." In that age, when public opinion was much directed by a bardic ballad, in either praise or dispraise, it is likely that a liberal patron of the literature of the day obtained a good share of eulogy. Indeed, to gratify a poet seems to have been the only recognised way of dealing with him, for, since his person and property were sacred, there was no means of punishing him, save by denying him a gift or a dinner, and this course was almost sure to sharpen his wits for the effusion of satire. The only way in which bards were deterred from resorting to chieftains' houses is noticed in a passage in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, which states that some of the order were frightened by the heads of enemies stuck on poles over the walls of the court-yard of a castle. Yet as it is not to be supposed that any of these trophies was a poet's head, it does not appear why the bards should have been terrified, like hawks on seeing birds of prey nailed to a barn-door. On the other hand, there is much testimony to the pleasing fact, that wandering singers and minstrels were usually warmly welcomed in Irish houses, which their talents and knowledge of news served greatly to entertain. According to my paper on "Gaelic Domestics," it does not appear that bards were retained in lords' houses, for they seem to have lived apart on free land of their own. The

only musical domestic was the harper. The bardic class were independent, subsisting on their own property, improving their livelihood by instructing youth, and receiving presents for poetry. However, they were doubtless frequently inmates of great houses. An ordinary function of theirs is described in an old account of the Maguires, published in Connellan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, which gives a picture of manners and customs in Fermanagh in the fourteenth century. In this a chieftain is represented as "ordering all his professional men to be called into the bed-chamber of his house at Port-Dobrain: then came the bards, good professional men, persons of various offices, and the musicians of the household; and they played for the chieftain melodious tunes on their stringed instruments, and recited the songs of their ancestors, and continued drinking and carousing together." In the subsequent century, Katherine ni Gryneill, wife of John Maguire, Prince of Fermanagh, caused the beautiful mether, known as the "Dunvegan Cup," to be "built," as its inscription says. This drinking vessel, which was shown in the Dublin Exhibition, being in the possession of the McLeod family, was thought to be of Hebridean make, until its Irish origin was proved. It was, no doubt, carried off from Fermanagh by the "Redshanks" during one of their marauding excursions. We know the Scots took our sweetest airs and liveliest songs;—and in this instance they ran off with a fountain of poetry.

The *cliaraibh*, *i.e.* the schools of learned, of Ulster, viz., the brehons, poets, historians, bards, harpers, gamesters, jesters, &c., included the following septs, exercising their several professional functions in certain clans. O'Haughian was poet to O'Neillmore; O'Gneeve was poet to O'Neill of Clanneboy; O'Rooney was bard to Magennis; O'Mulvany was ollav to O'Cahan; O'Hamill was bard to O'Hanlon; O'Sgingin was ollav-in-history to the Cinel-Connell, or O'Donnells; O'Keenan was ollav of Oriel. These were only a few of the learned castes in our province. How numerous the bards were in the south-west has been shown in the Munster article. In fact these learned people were the lawyers, oral records, vocal books, schoolmasters, and innkeepers, besides comprising, as singers, jesters, harpers, &c., the amusing class of the time.

Reflecting on the importance of a faithful preservation of the various verses which established human interests among the Gael, we can well understand why a bard and a brehon ranked, as is declared, next to a king, since the bard was the sole referee on questions of right, and the brehon was the Lord Chancellor, whose decisions were enforced by the clan king. Knowledge of this sort was in great measure oral, down to even the close of the sixteenth century. In the year 1590, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, writes, in a petition to the English Privy Council, of "the incivility of his country, where Her Majesty," observes this great chief, "hath neither law, judge, nor government, save such as is received by tradition." But the real truth was, the queen had little control over the traditional mode of administering the affairs of that country; and it was the existence of this independent *imperium in imperio* that required the Crown to assert a sovereign authority which was frequently denied and braved by the native chiefs of that uncivi-

lized region. The great mistake was, that the Irish, in their ignorance, over-rated their own strength, and under-rated that of the English crown.

During the time that Shane O'Neill, styled the Ambitious, reigned over Ulster as its tyrant-king, the powers of poetry were among the forces employed by the English for his reduction. Yet, this means was but in retaliation of a similar method, put in practice by the popular voice, of bringing his great adversary, the Earl of Sussex, into contempt:—it had been learnt from "the Irish enemy," who, remarks this viceroy, "are of singular wit," a talent they frequently utilized in political squibs and lying rumours, to serve the turns of the times. The Earl, in a despatch written after the disastrous action with the northern chief, on the 31st July, 1561, near Armagh, notices the magnitude and malignity of "the reports" current concerning the English losses, and observes:—"Such be like enough to grow into the nature of Sir John Gaskon's tales, who, devising them himself, believed, by often telling of them, that they were true." This false knight is probably a mere myth, or personification of gasconaders in general. The Lord Lieutenant subsequently, in a letter to the Secretary of State, quotes "a ditty" then in vogue, to show the spirit of the nation against him, the subject being his actions in Ireland. The name of this satirical song seems to have been "The Land of Perdition," and its burden, his Excellency's failures. Three years afterwards, when O'Neill was expecting to be created Earl of Tyrone, yet feared to give the Lord Deputy a meeting, one of his demands was, that "a rhymer that had misused him should be punished," evidently believing that the offence had been instigated by the English. Some details respecting this ill usage have been given in the second volume of this *Journal*, to which we may now add, that the bard who had venally employed his talent against his patriotic countryman, seems to have been a certain Fergananym (*i.e.* "the anonymous") O'Daly, a follower of Lord Justice Fitzwilliams. This peccant poet, "a man without a name," for so the prefix to his surname implies *(fear gan ainm)* showing that he had not been baptized, was in some trouble, in 1561, when Lord Kildare refused to give him up to his master. On the 30th January, 1566, the Lord Deputy and Council assure the offended chief that they will award the punishment to the rhymer of whom he complains; but, on being examined in Dublin Castle, he denied having made any such verses. Whether he was guilty or not is a matter of indifference: but it is to be regretted that this ephemeral satire on a chieftain, "foremost once in fame," even if it was penned by a bard who "sleeps without a name," must be classed among fugitive pieces.

It is likely that this attack, (if it happened), of one of the bardic order on Shane O'Neill, was a singular case; for, as the native hero of resistance to the English government, he was particularly popular. Campion relates that an Irish jester who was standing by, in 1561, when proclamation was made declaring this proud chieftain a "traitor," and who thought, in his ignorance of the herald's language, that the announcement was that of a patent of nobility creating the O'Neill Earl of Tyrone, the simple man declared that, unless *traitor* were a more honourable name than

*O'Neill*, Shane should never take it with his consent! The successor to the chieftaincy, however, nearly lost his life by the hand of a jester or bard. Holinshed relates how that Turlogh Lynogh, chief of the O'Neills, was, in 1569, being at supper with his wife, a sister of the Earl of Argyle, "shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caliver, by a jester or rimer of the Doniloghs." The clan proceeded to elect a new ruler; but the hardy veteran recovered. This attack may have proceeded from his inhospitality to some poets, of which the story is told in *Walker's Bards*, I. 205; but, more probably, was the revenge of the Donnellys, who were foster-brethren of the late chief, for Turlogh's infamous desertion, though tanist, of that ill-fated man.

Several items in a state-paper account of the expenses of the chivalrous Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, during the time he was "Lord General of Ulster," bear some evidence as to the extent to which musicians were retained in this country at that time. I also quote other entries in this account-book for the curious insight which they likewise give of other points of social manners. The first items are of gifts to "singing men of Melifont, 10s," and to "servants of the house of Melifont, '20s.'" This house was a dissolved priory, inhabited by the grantee, Edward Moore, Sheriff of Louth. A harper at Sir John Bellew's, in the same county, received 3s. The next entry of the Earl's account is:—"Certain of Captain Berkeley's soldiers, for guarding your lordship in hunting, 10s.," showing that the chase in that part of Ireland, and at that period, had its peculiar perils. "A boy that brought your lordship a brace of greyhounds," received a small donation. "M'Genis, that brought your lordship two staggs" received 13s. 4d., a sum equivalent to about £7 of our money, and, no doubt, willingly accepted by the chieftain. Sir Peter Carew's servants, at Leighlin, and "the boys of the kitchen," there were gratified with a *vale*, or farewell donation, now corruptly called a *vail*. "Crues, my lord of Ormond's harper," received 40s., an extravagant honorarium, probably on the occasion of his master's castle, at Kilkenny, being visited by the generous English nobleman. Passing southward to New Ross, his lordship made "singing men" there a present, and proceeded to "Sir Nicholas Devereux's house," the servants of which received no less than 50s. This house was Ballymagir, on the south coast of Wexford County. This visit of Essex to the Anglo-Irish knight was in recognition of a kinsmanship dating from the twelfth century, when the latter's ancestor came over as a colonizer. "The officers of the Bishop's house, at Fethard," received 40s. "The Earl of Ormond's musicians," 20s. "Mrs. Fagan, wife of the Mayor of Dublin," was complimented with a piece of taffeta, "for good entertainment;" and a merchant of Carrickfergus was paid £49 9s. for "aquavitæ given to sundry Irishmen," of whom some were, perhaps, Ulster bards.

Generally the bards were in violent opposition to all Teutonic colonists, whatsoever the date of their settlement. This natural and inevitable hostility is well pourtrayed in the spirited ballad, by

C. G. Duffy, entitled "*O'Donnell and the Fair FitzGerald,*" emblazoning an episode in the life of one of the heroes of—

> "That strain of native blood
> That last the Norman lance withstood;
> And still, when mountain war was waged,
> Their sparths among the Normans raged,
> And burst through many a serried line
> Of Lacy, Burke, and Geraldine."

One of the most characteristic and cleverest specimens of translated Irish verse, is the Lament of the princes of Tyrone and Tyrunnell buried at Rome. Among the modern specimens in the Academy collection is a singular poem on the dilapidated state of Donegal Castle, which was dismantled by the heroic Hugh *roe* O'Donnell to prevent it from being used as a barrack by the enemy.

Enough has now been shown to prove the obvious truth that whatever persecution the Irish bards suffered, they brought it on themselves, by their active hostility to the conquering nation. How strong their antipathy was, and how potent its effects, we see by the following paragraph:— The author of *A Discourse for the Reformation of Ulster*, written in 1598,[f] touching as follows on some peculiarities of the Irish character and prejudices, bears testimony to the prevalence of popular rhymes, and the potent influence retained by the prophetic poets. It is declared that the Irish "so despised the English language as even to think themselves injured by listening to it; that Con O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, upon his death-bed, left his curse to any of his posterity that would learn it, or sow wheat, or build; saying that language bred conversation, and, consequently, their confusion; that wheat gave sustenance with like effect; and that, in building, they would do but as the crow doth, make her nest, to be beaten out by the hawk. For the rest," continued this comparer of the two nations, "such as in habits, English manners of attendance, &c., they do much abhor them, as they count all those that use them but *Boddagh Gall*, that is, foreign boor or churl; and in their rhymes and daily jests they hold nothing more ridiculous and reproachfull. As for husbandry, handycrafts, and such like, they hold them so base that they curse those that acquainted them first with such vile waies of living. So much for marks of difference. Also, their Bards and propheeies do soe lull them asleepe with such tickling hopes, as they count no present miserie burthensom, in respect of their future expected felicitie."

Poetry, as the proper vehicle for the expression of passion, had long, indeed, served the Irish people as a medium and resource, and did also, in after times, when, as Sir T. Phillips wrote to Charles I., the native tenants under the London Planters in Ulster looked to be relieved by rebellion from their heavy landlords. Among the Jacobite relics of poetry in the Irish Academy's collection are verses assuring bankrupt Celtic farmers, who were suffering from distraint on their cows by Crom-

[f] Brit. Mus., Titus, B. xii., p. 3.

wellian landlords, that recent events on the Continent would tend to so order matters, that lands as well as cows would be restored. It also appears by Phillips's letter, that the British colonists in Ulster were infected with the native disposition for song and satire; for, when the king issued a commission to inquire into their derelictions in the matter of colonizing, they sang ballads deriding it, and prepared a play, under the title of "Much to do about Nothing." So powerful were the bards in their action on public opinion, that their power is alluded to in the Act of Parliament of 1634, referring to hospitality being enforced by the intimidatory "fear of a scandalous rhyme." Many instances are preserved of their turn for satire, shown in malicious epigrams, spiteful retorts, and lampooning songs on the new colonists. Their professed contempt for everything of foreign origin, and the faculty they possessed of propagating false anecdotes in disparagement of Anglo-Irish families, must have combined to render these peripatetic scandal-mongers peculiarly odious to the British settlers; and far beyond and above this form of obnoxiousness, was their quality as political partisans, which they possessed highly and used powerfully. In a future notice of the Connaught Bards I propose to include some curious accounts of the satiric character of our old poets.

## THE FOMORIANS AND LOCHLANNS.

### PEDIGREES OF MacCABE OF IRELAND AND MacLEOD OF SCOTLAND.

This short account of the Fomorians and Lochlanns has been taken from MacFirbis's Genealogical work, Lord Roden's copy, p. 774 *et seq.* Duald MacFirbis, who was the last of the hereditary historians of Lecan, in the county of Sligo, compiled his great genealogical work in the college of St. Nicholas at Galway, in the year 1650. See *Hy-Fiachrach*, introduction, p. vi., vii., viii.. &c., and *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xviii. He refers to a great number of MSS., which he either had then in his possession or had read, and which are now lost or missing. The two specimens of Danish genealogies given by him, bear out the Scottish tradition that MacLeod of Arran is of Scandinavian descent. This descent has been latterly doubted by Mr. Skene, in his history of the Highland clans: he is of opinion that the tradition of the Norwegian descent of MacLeod is not very old, and that it is not borne out by any historical authority. However, it is quite clear that the pedigree of MacLeod, as preserved by MacFirbis, is the only one ever known or received in Ireland or Scotland; but what weight it will have with Mr. Skene remains to be tried. We quote his words, as already printed in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii.—"There are few of the Highland clans whose Norwegian origin has been more strenuously asserted, or more generally believed, than that of the MacLeods; and yet, for that origin there is not the vestige of authority.

In this matter it is usual to find the *Chronicle of Man* referred to as expressly sanctioning the assertion, and this reference has been again and again repeated; but notwithstanding the confidence with which this Chronicle has been quoted as an authority, it is a singular circumstance that that record is nevertheless destitute of the slightest hint, or even of any passage which could be assumed as a ground for such an idea. Neither does the tradition of Norwegian descent, if such a tradition ever did exist, appear to be very old; for, in a MS. genealogy of the MacLeods, written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is not a trace of such a descent; on the contrary, they are deduced from one common ancestor with the Campbells, and were certainly a part of the ancient inhabitants of the earldom of Garmoran." But the existence of the tradition of the Scandinavian descent of this family can now no longer be denied.

It looks rather strange that MacFirbis should mix up the history of these two piratical races, as the Fomorians flourished so far back in the night of time as A.M. 2764, while the Lochlanns did not make their first descent upon any part of Ireland till the year 794. Some modern writers have expressed their opinion that the Fomorians were Scandinavians, but that their history was antedated by the Bardic historians. It is very clear, however, that MacFirbis did not believe that they were the same people, and the only reason which induced him to notice them together is that he finds them mentioned as plunderers only.

According to the Bardic historians, of whom Keating is a fair exponent, the Fomorians were pirates of the race of Ham, who sailed from Africa, and fled to the islands of the west of Europe to avoid the descendants of Shem, who, they say, would have enslaved them in consequence of the curse which Noah pronounced against their ancestor Ham.

The fierce wars between the Fomorians and the Nemedians is dwelt upon with particular interest by the Irish writers. The former fortified themselves on Tory Island, off the coast of Tirconnell, where they built a strong tower, called Tor-Conaing or Conaing's tower. This fortress was stormed and demolished by the Nemedians. The Fomorians, however, having been joined by fresh supplies of force, came to a general battle with the Nemedians, whom they defeated and dispersed, so that they left Ireland desolate for a period of two hundred years. The descendants of the dispersed Nemedians afterwards returned to Ireland under the name of Firbolgs; but these were not a full century in possession of the island when they were invaded by another kindred tribe who went under the name of Tuatha De Dananns, a people celebrated for their necromancy, who, after sojourning for some time in Greece, where they had learned various arts, proceeded from thence to Denmark and Norway, and afterwards to Scotland, where they rested for some years, and subsequently set sail for Ireland under the command of their chief Nuada. Here landing secretly under cover of a mist which they had raised by magic, they penetrated into the island, and had reached Slieve-an-ierin before their presence was discovered. The Firbolgs, thus taken by surprise, retreated before them into Connaught, where, at Cong, on the borders of Lough Mask, they fought

a sanguinary battle, called the battle of Moyturey-Cong, in which the Firbolgs were signally defeated, and the Tuatha De Dananns became sole masters of the country. According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, as translated by Mageoghegan, "the Firbolgs were overthrown in this battle, and one hundred thousand of them slain, with their king Eochy Mac-Eircke, which was the greatest slaughter that was ever heard of in Ireland at one meeting." From the monuments of the battle still remaining, it is quite credible that great numbers were slain, but the number mentioned in the document referred to must be a blunder.

It is stated in a romantic account of this battle of Moy-Turey-Cong, as well as in various accounts of the Tuatha De Dananns, that King Nuada lost his right hand in the battle, and that Credne Cerd made a silver hand for him, which was fitted upon him by Dianececht, the Æsculapius of the Irish, from which circumstance the king was ever after known by the name of Nuada *Airget-lamh, i.e.* Nuada of the Silver Hand. It is added in other accounts,[a] that Dianececht and Credne constructed the hand moveable in every finger and joint, and that Miach, the son of Dianececht, to excel his father, took off the hand and infused feeling and motion into every joint and nerve of it, as if it were a natural hand. [See *Ogygia*, part iii., c. 10.]

This Nuada reigned over the Tuatha De Dananns for twenty years, but was killed by Balor, the general of the Fomorians, in the battle of the Northern Moy-Turey. The site of this battle is still pointed out in the Parish of Kilmactranny, Barony of Tirerrill, County of Sligo. There are very curious sepulchral monuments yet to be seen on this battle-field, of which a minute description has been written by Dr. Petrie, and was read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1836. The place has been also lately examined by Dean Graves, president of the Academy, who is to publish the result of his investigations in the Academy's *Proceedings*. For the traditions about Balor, see *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.M. 3330, pp. 18, 19, also note *c* under A.D. 1398.

The first descent made by the Scandinavian rovers on the coast of Ireland was in the year 794. They had attacked England a year or two earlier. [See the *Annals of Ulster* at the year 793, and the *Saxon Chronicle* at the years 787 and 793.] The accounts of their having arrived in Ireland in the first century, and having a great city at Dublin in the time of St. Patrick, are fictions of the Danish and English writers, which have been ably refuted by Ussher and O'Flaherty, though recently quoted as an authority in this *Journal* by our friend H. F. Hore, Esq.

The loss of that part of the Great Book of Lecan, which, according to the author quoted by Duald MacFirbis, contained the genealogies of the descendants of the Danes in Ireland and Scotland, cannot be supplied from any other authority now known to exist. The two specimens following, which were evidently copied from this manuscript by the writer referred to, will give the reader a fair idea of the kind of pedigrees they were. All the generations set down appear to be within the true historical period of Irish history, though some of the names have so odd an appearance, that they look like those in the pedigree of Garagantua in Rabelais.

[a] Leabhar Gabhala of the O'Clerys.

The pedigree of MacLeod of Arran, in Scotland, may be traced with tolerable certainty up to the thirteenth century, through the Scottish records; but we have that of the Dano-Irish MacCabe from no other authority, except that of Duald MacFirbis. The family of MacCabe is now widely spread through the midland counties of Ireland, especially through Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan, and Meath, where they are remarkable for their xanthous complexions, their vivacity and vigour. They are evidently a branch of the MacLeods of Arran, and would appear to have migrated to Ireland at the same time with the MacSweenys and MacDonnells Galloglach, namely, in the fourteenth century. They were thenceforward leaders of Gallowglasses to the O'Rourkes, O'Reillys, and MacMahons of Ulster for many generations, and their chiefs were followed to the tomb by their followers bearing battle-axes over their shoulders; but after the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale, they settled down as tillers of the soil, and are now very numerous as farmers in the counties already mentioned.

In our own time the Rev. Canon MacCabe, of Francis Street, Dublin, Dr. Wm. MacCabe, and his nephew, Bernard William MacCabe, Esq., author of the *Catholic History of England*, and late editor of the *Telegraph* newspaper, Dublin, have distinguished themselves by their talents, integrity, and high learning, and there are many other individuals of the name in Ireland who reflect honour on the Danish and Irish races, whose blood they carry in their veins.

The following notices of the MacCabe family occur in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the several dates here given :—

MacCABE.

A.D. 1358. Hugh MacCabe was slain.

A.D. 1386. Donough MacCabe was slain by the son of Manus O'Reilly.

A.D. 1392. Donough MacCabe was slain.

A.D. 1413. Mahon MacCabe, Loughlin MacCabe, and a great number of their people were slain by the English in the hosting of O'Reilly.

A.D. 1416. MacCabe was in the military service of O'Rourke.

A.D. 1424. Melaghlin MacCabe, Constable of the two Brefneys, and also of Fermanagh and Oriel, died of the plague.

A.D. 1429. MacCabe, and Henry MacCabe, were taken prisoners by O'Neill, in the battle of Aghakilmore, in Brefney.

A.D. 1483. Ross, Donough, and Brian MacCabe, were slain in the service of MacRannall.

A.D. 1455. Maine, the son of Melaghlin MacCabe, *materies* of a Constable of the Gallowglasses of the two Brefneys of Oriel and Fermanagh, died.

A.D. 1460. Owen Caech MacCabe was slain in the service of O'Reilly.

A.D. 1486. Melaghlin Oge, son of Melaghlin MacCabe, slain at Moin-lesg.

A.D. 1495. Brian, son of Sorley MacCabe, died.

A.D. 1500. Gilchreest, son of John Fin MacCabe, was slain by Hugh MacMahon.

A.D. 1504. Flaherty, son of Failge, son of Brian MacCabe, was slain by Brian MacCabe.

A.D. 1505. Fergus More MacCabe was slain on the side of the sons of Gillapatrick.

A.D. 1508. Niall, son of Alexander MacCabe, and Henry, son of Brian MacCabe, died.

A.D. 1510. Felim MacCabe, of Brefney, died.

A.D. 1514. Many, son of Mahon MacCabe, was taken prisoner by the Earl of Kildare.

A.D. 1602. Brian, son of Dowell MacCabe, was taken prisoner by MacSweeny.

MacLEOD OF ARA [ARRAN].

A.D. 1594. MacLeod, of Ara, came as a messenger to O'Donnell, to inform him that the Scots had arrived at Derry.

A.D. 1595. MacLeod, of Ara, landed at Lough Foyle, with six hundred Scots.

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EXTRACT FROM THE GENEALOGICAL MS. OF DUALD Mac FIRBIS.

Trachtadh eumair ar araile d' Fhomorehaibh agus do Lochlannchuibh, bhàdar athaidh imchiana ag aidhmhilleadh Ereann. Fior cheana gur chraoibhsgaoilsiom gach cineadh dar ghreamuigh Ere iar n-urd a n-gabhàl go so; anois luaidheam lucht buaidheartha na Banba—Fomoraigh agus Lochlonnaigh—iar d-teaglomuibh saine fa seach, naeh saigh suas glùn ar glùn leo go h-Adhamh, mar gabhaid Gaoidhil, Tuatha Dé, Fir Bolg, Nemhidh, Partholan, &c., do àitigh Ere go h-ordaighthe, a ngenelaigh da bhaghthar go h-ordaighthe.

Fomoruigh imorro agus Lochlonnuigh, is amhluidh do bhidisidhe re foghlughadh na Fódhla chuice agus uaithe, ag breth gach a ffédís da lomarthaibh leo, ar mhodh nach ffuairsiod na Seanchaidh a seanchus mar chách go comhnuidhtheach isin crich. Thairis sin cuirfeam anmanna aroile dob' óirdherca díobh síos ana a sleachtaibh saine.

Fomoraigh tra as iad céudus do chuir coinbhliocht ar an chrich in aimsir Nemhidh agus a chlainne (acht gé thug Partholan cath do Chiogal nGriccenchesach i Sleamhnuibh Muighe Ithe, mar as lér ag laphra ar Phartholan fén, leth. 35.)

As iad Fomoraigh aderther sunn .i. loingsigh an mhara do thigdis do chosnamh na eríche, agus nach fes creud dob' adhbhar aca, acht anfhlaitheas do fhurail ar égin ar Erinn.

Gann agus Seangann, da righ Fomoire, Conang mac Faobhair, agus More mac Deala, daoine dob' óirdherca d' Fhomoiribh isin aimsir sin Nemhidh agus a chlainne. Ni fhághmaoid genelaeh riamh ná iars na Fomhoiribh ud, uair do diobhnidh uile la Nemhidh eo n-a chloinn, mar do ráidhsiom ag toghail tuir Conaing, leth. 38 39, 40.

Mar sin tra gach drong da ttainig do iondradh Erenn amhlnidh sin, ni fhaghmaoid gabhlughadh genealaigh aca dob' ionáirmhe. Ba diobh sin Balar Baile-bémneach, ba h-árd eumhaedtach d' Fhomoiribh re linn Tuath Dé Danann, gomadh ris an mBalar sin torchair Nuada Airgead-lámh, rí Ereann de Thuaith Dé Danann, i ecath Muighe Tuireadh na fFomorach.

Gé'r mhór ainneart, agus gé'r mhinie buaidhreadh eachtair-chinel (dá ngairthí Fomoruigh

agus Lochlonnuigh) mar súd ar Erinn, ni h-áirmheach gur ghreamuighdar innte go hiarmartach; uair is na h-aimsiribh sin tigdís Lochlonnuigh, no Danair, no Danmairgigh, go ceobhlaighibh móra mionca do mhillcadh na rioghachta, gor rugsad re sealad a somhaoine fa dheóigh, gur dhiochuir Brian Boruimhe [Maoilechluinn, *manu recentiori*] agus aroile d'uaislibh Ereann iad. Tairis sin do ansad iomad da n-iardraighibh dá n-és in Erinn ó-shin, mar ata a sleachtaibh sen-leabhar. Mar so a der sliocht lebhair áiridhe:—"Gibé lenab' áil craoibhsgaoilcadh agus genelach sleachta Sin-Iomhair na mBreath d'fhághail, agus Fionn-Lochlann agus Dubh-Lochlann, agus Cathmuigh na Berbhi, agus Maghnuis na Loinge Luaithe, mic righ Lochlonn, do ghebhthar a ffios mar so a Leabhar Mór Leacain Mic Fhirbhisigh, agus do chuid thainig in Erinn .i. Clann Pii nan-Oiléun, agus Clann Capa, agus Clann Chuilin, agus Amhlaoibh Puirt Lairge, ro bhaoi i ceath Chluana-tarbh, Sitrioc mac Gluin-iarainn, agus Amhlaoibh Cuaran, ar a ffuil sliocht, agus forgla a ffuil do chlannuibh ceannaigheadh a mBaile Atha-cliath aniu, as ar sliocht an Amhlaoibh Cuaráin sin atáid, agus ar sliocht Saidhbhe, inghine Bhriain Boruimhe, ba bhean dó an tan tugadh Cath Cluana-tarbh.

Domhnall, mac Emhin, mhic Caindigh, mór-mhaor Máir, do shliocht Sin-Iomhair ésidhe, agus do chlannaibh Leoid na h-Ara dhó, agus thainig do ionnsaighidh Briain Boruimhe, do chosnamh Ereann a n-aghaidh Ghall na lúireach, iounus go ffuil sliocht an Amhlaoibh Chuarain sin i m-Baile Atha Cliath, ag cur i n-aghaidh Gaoidheal Ereann, &c.

GENEALACH MacLEOID.

Alasdraun.
MacGiolla Coluim,
Mic Tormoid,
Mic Ruaidhrigh,
Mic Néll,
Mic Gilla Christ,
Mic Tormoid,
Mic Consaitin,
Mic Lochlainn Leosaigh,
Mic Loairn Loingsigh,
Mic Duilbh Locha-abroin,
Mic Ionduilbh Innsi h-Orc,
Mic Scandlain Sgaiude,
Mic Amhlaoibh,
Mic Iomhair Cairthe Sgarloide,
Mic Alpin,
Mic Maoil Coluim Ceann-mhóir,
Mic Comhgaill,

Mic Síograidh,
Mic Loairn,
Mic Broin Berbe,
Mic Lcoid, a ttaid Clanna Leoid, fri Lara, agus as í tháinig a siothbroghaibh a riocht Lara, ionnus go rug triar mac, ar a ffuil sliocht.
Mic Artuir,
Mic Balair,
Mic Fercousa,
Mic Forguill criche na fuardhachta,
Mic Naoi,
Mic Duilbh,
Mic Iolduilbh,
Mic Alexandair,
Mic Neid *à quo* Ui Néd,
Mic Monuigh mhóir, o ráiter Dun Mónaigh,
Mic Balbuaidh Innsi Tile,
Mic Gioda,
Mic Fomhra,
Mic Maghnuis na loinge luaithe,
Mic Arailt,
Mic Asmaint,
Mic Sin-Iomhair Mhóir na mbreath, ó ffuilid Siol Sin-Iomhair in Albain, agus a n-Erinn, agus a Lochlonnuibh.

CLANNA CHABA.

Ruaidhri,
Mac Maghnusa,
Mic Donnchadha,
Mic Enrigh,
Mic Giolla-Christ,
Mic Flaithbheartaigh,
Mic Giolla Christ Coirrsleaguigh,
Mic Alexandair Arann,
Mic Tormoid re n-aburthí Mac Caba,
Mic Constaintin Caoimh Innsi Breatan,
Mic Lochlainn, &c.

Sliocht ele a der Murmór Catt, Clann-Orca Clann-Cruiner agus Clann-Thorcadail in Albain, Lochlonnaigh iad.

A der sliocht sen-leabhair mar so:

Ar sliocht Greguis mac Gomer mic Jafeth ata an Gallia .i. Lochlonnaigh.

## TRANSLATION.

A short account of some of the Fomorians [b] and of the Lochlanns, who were for a long time infesting Erin. It is true that we have already set forth every race that took possession of Erin, according to the order of their invasions, to the present day. But now we treat of the disturbers of Banba[c]—the Fomorians and Lochlanns[d]—according to the different compilations, whose pedigrees are not carried up generation by generation to Adam, like those of the Gaoidhil,[e] the Tuatha Dé,[f] the Fir-Bolg,[g] Partholan,[h] &c., who inhabited Erin, and whose genealogies[i] are regularly found.

Now the Fomorians and Lochlanns were wont to infest Erin now and again, carrying off with them all the spoils that they could, so that the historians were unable to find their consecutive history like that of those who were settled in the country. Notwithstanding this, however, we shall set down here the names of some of the more illustrious of them, from different authorities.

The Fomorians were they who first waged war with the country, in the time of Nemhidh and

[b] *Fomorians.*—Keating states, in his *History of Ireland*, that these pirates were denominated *Fomoraigh*, and that the name signifies "powerful at sea" [Haliday's edition, p. 181]. The Giants' Causeway, in the County of Antrim, was anciently called from them *Clochán-na bhFomórach.* [See O'Brien's *Irish Dictionary*, *voce* FOMORACH].

[c] *Banba.*—This was one of the ancient names for Ireland, and was given to it from Banba, one of the Tuatha De Danann queens, who ruled at the arrival of the Milesian colony [Keating, Haliday's edit., p. 117].

[d] *Lochlanns.*—This is the name by which the Scandinavians were known to the ancient Irish, and they still continue to indicate the Danes by the same appellation. The Irish writers call the Danes "Dubh-Lochlonnaigh" to distinguish them from the Norwegians, whom they called "Fionn-Lochlonnaigh." [See O'Brien's Dictionary, *voce* LOCHLONNACH].

[e] *The Gaoidhil*, *i.e.*, the Gaels, Scoti, or Milesians, whose pedigrees are regularly carried up to Adam by the Bardic Irish historians. Our author believed in the authenticity of these lines of pedigree as firmly as the Jews believed in that of the twelve tribes of Israel.

[f] *Tuatha Dé*, *i.e.*, the Tuatha De Dananns, the colony who preceded the Milesians in their occupation of Ireland.

[g] *The Fir Bolg.*—These people preceded the Tuatha De Dananns, but they remained powerful in Connaught down to the fifth century.

[h] *Partholan.*—He is said to have arrived in Ireland three hundred years after the Deluge. The traditions connected with his name are still vividly remembered at Glenade, in the north of the County of Leitrim and at Ballyshannon, where he is said to have lived on Inis Samhaoir, in the river Erne, close by the cataract of Assaroe.

[i] *Whose genealogies.*—The pedigrees of these colonies are traced up to Adam by the Bardic genealogists; but where they found them, or how they have been preserved, has not been yet satisfactorily explained. Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in the twelfth century, found no difficulty in believing these accounts handed down by the Bardic Irish historians. Even of the events which happened in Ireland before the flood, he appears to have entertained no great doubts. "Sed forte in aliquâ materiâ inscriptâ, lapideâ scilicet, seu latiritia (sicut de arce musicâ legitur ante diluvium) inventa istorum memoria fuerat reservata."

his children, (but they were even earlier, for Partholan gave battle to Ciogal Griccenn-cosach,[j] in Sleamhna of Magh Itha, as may be seen in our account of Partholan, in page 35). The Fomorians here mentioned were sea-pirates, who used to come to contest the country, for no other reason but to exercise tyranny by violence upon Erin. Gann and Scangann, two kings of the Fomorians, Conang, son of Faebhar, and More, son of Deala, were the most illustrious persons of the Fomorians, in the time of Nemhidh[k] and his children. We do not find any genealogy before or after these Fomorians; for they were all annihilated by Nemhidh and his children, as we have mentioned at the Demolition of Conang's Tower,[l] pages 38, 39, 40. This is also the case with respect to every people who came thus to plunder Erin, we do not find any ramification of them worthy of notice. Among these was Balar[m] of the Mighty Blows, who was a very powerful man of the Fomorians, in the time of the Tuatha De Dananns; and by this Balar was slain Nuada of the Silver-Hand, King of the Tuatha De Dananns of Erin, in the battle of Magh-Tuiredh of the Fomorians.[n]

Though great was the oppression, and though frequent the disturbances of extern tribes, called Fomorians and Lochlanns, upon Erin, in this manner, it is not recorded that they obtained permanent settlements in it. In those times [the eighth and ninth centuries] the Lochlanns, Danes, or Denmark-men, used to come frequently with great fleets to plunder the kingdom, so that they finally obtained its tributes for a time [and continued in this power] until they were expelled by Brian Borumha[o] [changed by a later hand to Maoileachlainn] and others of the nobles of Erin. Nothwithstanding this, many of

[j] *Ciogal Grigen-chosach*—See a notice of this very ancient personage of Irish Bardic history in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.M. 2530. Sleamhna Muighe Ithe, where Partholan defeated him, was the ancient name of a district, near Lough Swilly, in the Barony of Raphoe, and County of Donegal.

[k] *Nemhidh.*—The arrival of Nemhidh with his "fower sons into Ireland out of Greece," is synchronized in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* with the latter end of the reign of Altades, monarch of Assyria. O'Flaherty fixes it in A.M. 2029.

[l] *Conang's Tower.*—This fortress is said to have stood on *Tor-mór*, at the eastern extremity of Tory Island, off the north coast of the County of Donegal, but so completely did the people of Nemhidh demolish it that no trace of it is now visible.

[m] *Balar.*—This Balar, who lived on Tory Island, and is still most vividly remembered in Irish legends, as having an eye with which he turned men into stones, was killed in the battle of North Moy-Turey, near Lough Arrow, in the County of Sligo, by his daughter's son, Lughaidh Lamhfhada [Lewy of the long hands]. Kethlenn, the wife of this Balar, is said to have fought with desperation in the battle, and to have wounded the Dagda (afterwards king of the Tuatha De Dananns) with a sling.

[n] *Magh-tuiredh of the Fomorians.*—See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 176. The venerable Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, who lived in the neighbourhood of this place for some time, has written the following notice of it:—

"The Fomorians invited back the Belgians to their assistance, and their conjunction produced the second battle of Moy-Turey, near the Lake of Arrow, but distant from the former Moyturey about fifty miles, and, by way of distinction, called Moy-Turey of the Fomorians. This place, surrounded by high hills, great rocks, and narrow defiles, was pitched upon probably by the weaker side; but which made the attack is not recorded.—*Dissertations on the History of Ireland*, p. 147. Dublin, 1753.

[o] *Brian Boruimhe.*—The name Maoileachlainn is written over this in a hand more modern than that of MacFirbis. Brian dethroned Maoileachluinn and became sole monarch of Ireland in 1002, and was killed at the battle of Clontarf in 1014, when Maoileachluinn, or Malachy II., resumed his ancient dignity, and lived till the year 1022, in which year, nine months before his death, he defeated the Danes of Dublin and Meath, at Athboy, in Meath.

their descendants remained after them in Erin, from that time till this, as is set forth in many old books. A certain old book has the following notice:—"Whoever wishes to find the ramifications and genealogies of Old Ivor of the Judgments,[p] and of the Fionn-Lochlanns,[q] and Dubh-Lochlanns,[r] and of Cathmogh-na-Berbhi,[s] and of Maghnus of the Swift [sailing] Ship,[t] son of the King of Lochlann, he will find a full account of them in the *Book of Lecan*[u] *of MacFirbisse*, as well as of some others who came into Erin, viz.:—the Clann-Pii[v] of the Islands, and the Clann-Caba,[w] and the Clann-Cuilin,[x] and of Amhlaoibh[y] of Port-Lairge, who was at the battle of Cluain-tarbh, of Sitrioc, son of Gluniarainn,[z] and of Amhlaoibh Cuaran,[a] of whom there are now descendants; and the greater part of the descendants of the merchants of Ath-cliath [Dublin] at this day, are of the race of this Amhlaoibh Cuaran, and of Sadhbh, daughter[b] of Brian Boruimhe, who was his wife at the time that the battle of Cluain-tarbh [Clontarf] was fought.

Domhnall, son of Emhin,[c] son of Cainnech, Great Steward of Marr, was of the race of Old Ivor, and he was of the Clann-Leoid of Arran,[d] and he came to assist Brian to defend Erin against the mail-clad Lochlanns, so that the race of this Amhlaoibh Cuaran are at Ath-cliath, opposing the Gaoidhil of Erin; &c.

[p] *Old Ivor of the Judgments.*—He was Imhar, ancestor of the Danes of Dublin, mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 856, 857, 861, and 871.

[q] *Fionn-Lochlanns*, *i.e.*, the Fair Lochlanns. These were the Norwegians.

[r] *Dubh-Lochlanns*, *i.e.*, the Black Lochlanns, the name by which the Irish writers called the Danes.

[s] *Cathmogh na Berbhe.*—This character is not mentioned in the Irish Annals.

[t] *Maghnus of the Swift Ship.*—He was probably Magnus, son of Harold, mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 972. Magnus, King of Lochlann and the Islands, mentioned at the year 1101, 1102, 1103, does not appear to have left any descendants in Ireland.

[u] *Large Book of Lecan.*—This is evidently the manuscript Book of Lecan, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; but it contains none of these pedigrees at present, and from the second-hand manner in which it is referred to by our author, it would appear that either he had not seen the MS., or that it wanted them in his time also.

[v] *The Clann Pii of the Islands.*—Unknown to the Editor (query the family of Pye?)

[w] *Clann-Caba*, *i.e.*, the MacCabes of Brefney.

[x] *Clann-Cuilin.*—This clan is now unknown. The O'Coileans of Munster, and the O'Cuiluins of Leinster, are Gaels.

[y] *Amhlaoibh of Port Lairge*, *i.e.* Amlaff of Waterford.—His race is now unknown.

[z] *Sitric, son of Gluniarainn.*—His race is now unknown.

[a] *Amhlaoibh Cuaran.*—He is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 938, 944, 946, 951, and 968. His race is now unknown.

[b] *Sadhbh, daughter of Brian Boruma.*—The race of this royal pair is now unknown.

[c] *Domhnall son of Emhin.*—He was of Danish descent by the mother's side only. By the father's side he descended from Maine Leamhna, son of Core, son of Lughaidh, son of Oilioll Flannbeg, son of Fiacha Muillethan, King of Munster, son of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilioll Olum. See *Oggyia*, part iii., c. 81, p. 384; also *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1013, note c.

[d] *Clann-Leoid of Arran*, *i.e.*, the M'Leods of Arran Island in Scotland. Domhnall, son of Emhin, was of this clan by his maternal descent only.

GENEALOGY OF Mac LEOID.

Alexander,
Son of Gilla Coluim,
Son of Tormod,
Son of Ruaidhrigh,
Son of Niall,
Son of Gillachrist,
Son of Tormod, (now anglicized Norman.)
Son of Constantine,
Son of Lochlainn Leosach,
Son of Loarn, the Navigator,
Son of Dolbh of Loch Abroin,
Son of Indolbh of Innsi h-Orc,
Son of Scandlan Sgoinde,
Son of Amhlaoibh.
Son of Iomhar of Cairthe Sgarloide,
Son of Ailpin,
Son of Mael-Choluim Ceann-mhor,
Son of Comhgall,
Son of Siograidh,
Son of Loarn,
Son of Bron Berbe,
Son of Leod, from whom [descend] the Clann-Leoid, by Lara, and she came from the fairy palaces in the shape of a *lara*, so that she bore three sons, of whom there are descendants.
Son of Arthur,
Son of Balar,
Son of Fergust
Son of Forgall, of the territory of Fuardhacht,
Son of Nae,
Son of Dolbh,
Son of Ildolbh,
Son of Alexander,
Son of Néd, from whom [descend] the Hy-Néid,
Son of Monach-Mór, from whom Dun Monaigh is called,
Son of Balbuaidh, of Innis Tile.

Son of Gioda,
Son of Fomhra,
Son of Maghnus of the swift ship,
Son of Aralt,
Son of Asmant,
Son of Sen-Iomhar Mor [old Ivor the Great] of the Judgments, from whom are descended the Siol-Sin-iomhair [race of old Ivor] in Albain and in Erin and in Lochlann.

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THE CLANN-CHABA.

Ruaidhri,
Son of Maghnus,
Son of Donnchadh,
Son of Henry,
Son of Gilchrist,
Son of Flaherty
Son of Gilchrist Coirr-sgeaghach,
Son of Alexander of Arran,
Son of Tormod, who was called MacCaba,
Son of Constantine Caomh of Innis Breatan,
Son of Lochlann, &c.

"Another authority states that the great steward of Catt [Caithness], the Clann-Orca, the Clann-Cruinner, and the Clann-Thorcadail[e] in Albain, are Lochlanns [Scandinavians]. The *sliocht* of an old book states thus:—"Of the race of Græcus, son of Gomer, son of Japhet, are the Galls, *i.e.* the Lochlanns."

JOHN O'DONOVAN.

[e] *Clann-Orca, Clann-Cruinner, Clann-Torcadail.*—These Scottish clans are unknown to the Editor.

# CELTIC ETYMONS OF ENGLISH WORDS.

In continuation of a previous communication as to the use of the Celtic dialects in determining the derivation of many English words, I would beg to offer a few remarks on some publications of modern date on the subject of English etymology. In 1847 Mr. H. Fox Talbot published an interesting work, entitled *English Etymologies*, in which many ingenious derivations are proposed. With a large number of these I cannot agree: my present object, however, is to show that the Celtic dialects will afford considerable aid in tracing out the origin of English words, which aid Mr. Talbot has not availed himself of. To take a few examples.—*Canopy* he derives from *cannabis*, hemp, and conceives it was originally applied to tents of *canvas*. Agreeing with him that the Greek *konopeion*, "a bed with gauze hangings to keep off gnats," is not a satisfactory etymon, I would suggest that the root may be the Irish *ceann*, the head: in fact, in that dialect, *ceann-bhrat* signifies a canopy, literally "a head-cloth." Now Webster, who refers in his *Dictionary*, to the Greek derivation here mentioned, defines *canopy* as "more generally a covering over the *head*," which coincides exactly with the Irish expression.—*Launch*, a boat, Mr. Talbot says, is the Spanish *lancha*, and he derives that from the Old German *lanch* (of the existence of which word I entertain some doubt), Modern German *lang*, meaning "long." Now *lancha* signifies in general a "boat," occasionally "the *long* boat." But this last in English is probably of Celtic origin, as well as *launch*, and cognate with the Irish *long*, a ship, a vessel. For the "long boat" is not the longest boat belonging to a ship, and a Spaniard would call it *larga* if he wished to give the idea of length. The term *launch* was formerly applied to vessels of a rig peculiar to the Mediterranean, and is rendered in French by *chaloupe* and *eaie*. It was (apparently of late years) applied to the *principal boat* of large vessels, perhaps from some similarity to the former. The "long boat" may be simply so called from its length; but it will be well to remember that it is *not* the long boat *par excellence* in cases where there is also a *launch*.—*Gaff* is too evidently an Irish word for "hook," to be disputed; it may, possibly, be the same as the Hebrew *war*, and, at all events, Mr. Talbot need not have gone to Spain in search of its origin, or referred it to *vela de gavia*.—*Blush* he connects with *blood*, and adds that *flush* is a stronger degree of the same word: it might have perhaps assisted him to have been aware that *fuil* in Irish is "blood," which may be related to the Greek *phleps*, "a vein."—For *warm* he goes to Persia, not aware that the Irish *gor*, Welsh *gores*, signify "heat," and the Irish verb *goraim* is "I warm."—The name *Gilchrist* he derives quite incorrectly from Irish *kil*, "a church," instead of *giolla* "a servant,"—*of Christ*. In compilations such as Mr. Talbot's book, and Jamieson's valuable *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, it is not difficult for even a tyro to detect a few errors or oversights, nor is this without its use; but I would be far

from detracting from their great general merit, knowing well what labour, ingenuity, and discrimination such works require.

I shall now mention a few instances in a more recent work on English etymology, by Mr. Wedgewood, in which I conceive he is in error; not to speak of his great theory of the "Imitation Principle," which, according to him, pervades all languages, and which I fear he has followed too far, being apparently blinded by it to the existence of many undoubted Hebrew, Greek, and Latin roots, that do not accord with it so well as their modern descendants seem to do.—He assigns no origin for the word *addle*, in the sense of "to earn:" I believe it to be the Celtic (Irish) *eadail*, of which the root is *ed*, "profit" or "gain."—He derives *again* from the Breton *ken*, Welsh *cefn*, "the back;" I would derive it, as well as *against*, from the Irish *aghaidh*, (compare Lat. *facies* and *acies*,) "the face."—*Comely* he brings from *to come;* which is only as absurd as if we were to bring the Latin *venustus* from *venio!* It is the Latin *comes* (like the French *debonnair*), and the Irish *caomh*, meaning "kind," "courteous," and, in a secondary sense, "handsome." Hence, we have one of our Irish family-names, O'Keeffe (*O'Caoimh*). Dr. Trench could write a sermon on the connection between the ideas of courteousness and comeliness; I only indicate them to your readers.

Mr. Talbot thinks we call a cat and a hare *puss* from the Latin *le-pus*, converted into *le puss* in Old Norman-French, and so becoming *puss* in English. This strikes me as a *funny* derivation. A more probable one is the Irish *peata*, *patu*, or *putan*, an old word for a hare, and *pus* given in Irish dictionaries for a cat. A name *wat*, sometimes applied to a hare, appears to be a dialectic form of *patu*, and not connected at all with the name Walter, Wat. However, the Breton, or Armoric dialect of the Celtic, clears up both *cat* and *wat* satisfactorily: in that dialect *gat* is "a hare."

I perceive that your correspondent SENEX [vol. viii., p. 73] has done me the honour of approving generally of my former etymologies, but objects to my derivation of *Hogmanay*. I am rather confirmed, however, in my opinion, by finding the word *hog-minny* used in Devonshire to denote a "depraved young girl." I believe that the "Hog-tide" of SENEX refers to a festival held soon after Easter in commemoration of a number of Danes slain in a great battle. However, I am open to conviction from a correspondent who writes with good sense on so many subjects.

I would now submit a few more etymologies of my own.—Eng. *tyke*, *teague*, a country boor. In Cornish, *tuoga* signifies "the common people," possibly connected with the Breton or Armoric *tiec*, "master of a family," *tieguez*, "a family," and Irish *tigh*, "a house," in the same way that *husbandman* comes from *house*. Whether in "*tag, rag, and bobtail*" we may trace this word *tuoga*, and the Welsh *pobl*, *bobl*, "people," I leave to your readers. As for *rag*, in this sense, I can only find the Irish *graisg* (perhaps Lat. *grex*), which comes nearer to *rase* al. The whole of these words

have degenerated from their primary signification into terms of abuse, like *villain*, *vulgar*, and *mob*. I find I was wrong in quoting the expression, "mobile vulgus" as from Horace. It is a phrase of Ovid's. Horace has in his first Ode "mobilium turba Quiritium."

*Coxcomb*, *coquette*.—Welsh *coegyn*, a conceited fellow; *coegen*, a vain wench: *coeg*, the root of these words is clearly identical with the Latin *vac*-uus, vain, empty. *Comb* seems to have been added in English from a mistaken reference to a *cock*. Possibly, however, the term *coxcomb* may have been applied at first to a court-fool wearing a cap resembling the crest or comb of a cock.

*Dudgeon*.—Welsh, *dygen*, "to hate." Wedgewood and his reviewer, Coleridge, being ignorant of this word, say that no satisfactory etymology can be assigned. In its other meaning, *dudgeon* is of course allied to *dagger* (Spanish *daga*) and *dirk*; and also, as suggested by Parkhurst, to the Hebrew *dakar*, "he stabbed."

*Dainty*.—Welsh *dant*, "a tooth," *danteithion*, "dainties."

*Palfrey*.—Welsh *palfre*, and Irish *peall*, a horse (given in O'Reilly's Dictionary). There was, however, a rather unusual Latin word, *paraveredus*, signifying "a baggage horse for the army." As for the etymons proposed by some, *para freno*, *pala freno*, and *par le frein*, signifying "by the rein," they cannot be considered satisfactory.

The Irish and Scottish Gaelic *craobh*, a tree or branch, seems evidently cognate with *shrub* and *grove*; A.Sax. *scrobbe*, and *graf*; and also with *Shrop*shire and *Shrews*bury, which old town I should be happy to vindicate from the suspicion entailed by the corrupted name. But I think this Celtic word also explains a very obscure English one, *carpenter*, French *charpentier*, generally derived from Latin *carpentum*, a waggon. If this were the case I cannot see why the Latin *carpentarius* should not have been so applied; whereas the Latin word for carpenter, *lignarius*, or wood-wright, tends to confirm the Celtic derivation. The Welsh is *pren-saer*, with exactly the same compound termination as *maen-saer*, a stone-wright, which last is perhaps the origin of *mason*; *crann-saor* is the Irish for carpenter, from *crann*, a tree, timber, (equivalent to *pren*, in Welsh,) and *saor*, a wright. From *crann* we seemingly obtain *cranny* in English, equivalent to "wood-chink" originally, unless a more generally applied root, in Latin *cerno*, Greek *krino*, be preferred, as denoting separation. *Craobh* seems also the origin of *caper-caily* or Cock of the Woods, which I would read *craobh-choileach* or tree-cock; it is, however, generally spelled *capall-coille*, or *Horse* of the Woods, in Scottish Gaelic. I submit this to Irish scholars, only remarking that *Mac-Alla*, or Son of the Rock—a very poetic name for the echo—has been explained by some to mean *Mac alla*, or Pig of the Rock: there is no accounting for tastes; I much prefer the former.

It is curious to find the Welsh *achludo*, to obscure, and Greek *achluo*, to become *cloudy*, resembling each other more than the English *cloud*; and this is not uncommon with Celtic words.—Welsh *lliw*, Irish *lith*, stain, colour, seem to explain our English *livid*, from Latin *lividus*.—Welsh *bus* (Irish *pus*), a lip; Latin *basium*, a kiss. Mr. Curry tells me the Irish

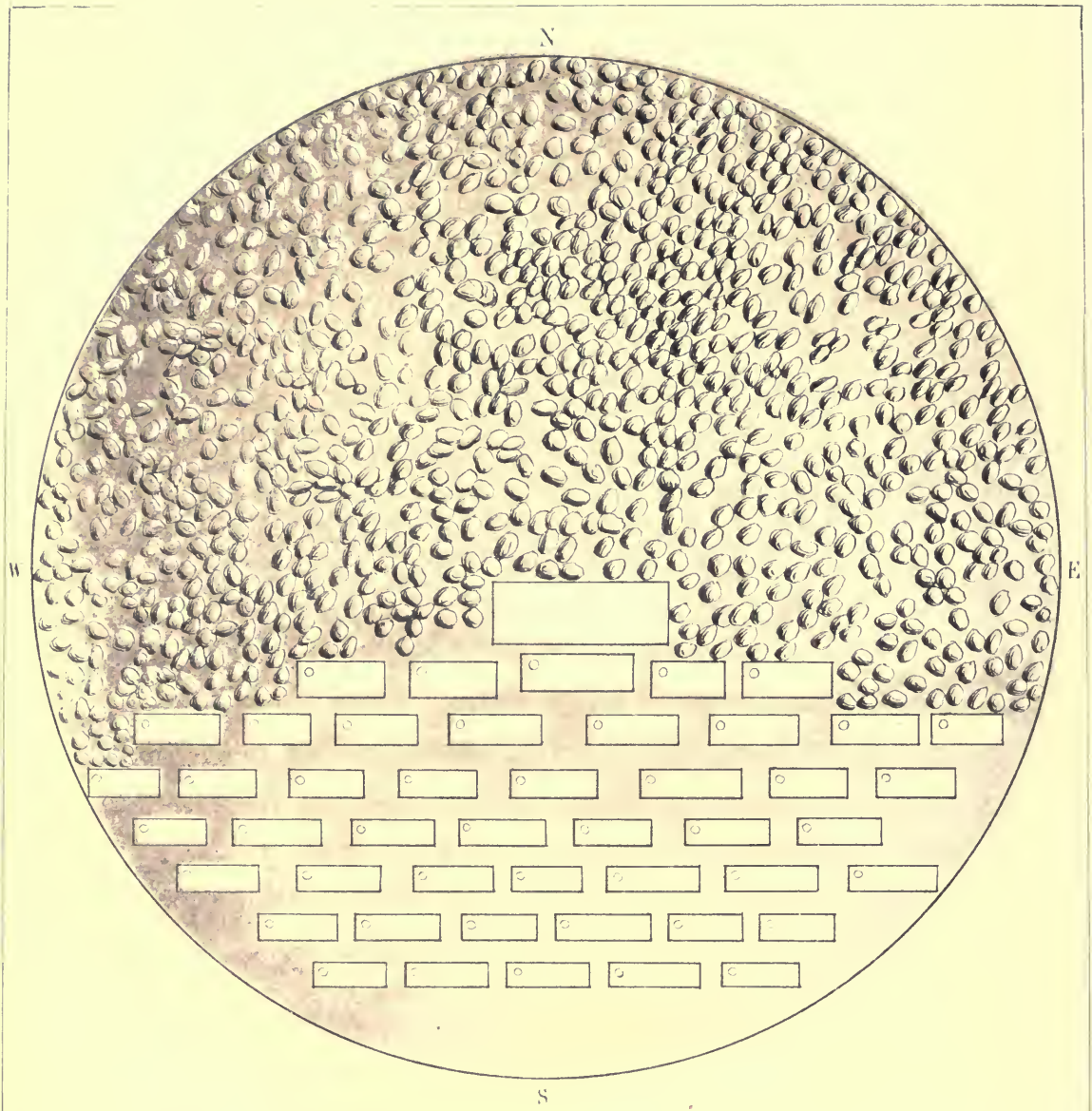
word is a corrupt modern one; still it has been recognised for some centuries: perhaps the Welsh *gwefus* is the older form of both; yet our word *buss*, and the Latin *basium* convince me that there was a similar old word in Celtic. The Welsh *gwefus*, Cornish, *gueus*, seem to furnish a root for *gusto*, and perhaps even *taste*. The latter is a comparatively modern word in Scotland, where *gust* was not very long ago in general use. The obsolete Greek *kuo*, future *kuso*, had perhaps a similar origin; it meant to salute or *kiss*.—The Welsh *caled*, Irish *cala*, hard, I suspect, is found in several Greek and Latin words, such as Greek *chaladza* "hail" (hardened snow), generally derived from *chalao*, a verb meaning to loose; *chalepos*, hard; *chalix*, a pebble; perhaps *chalkos*, brass or hardened copper; and *chalybs*, steel or hardened iron: Latin *callus*, hardened flesh; *calculus*, a pebble; *calx*, stone, limestone; *calx* a heel; *calco*, to tread; and English *callous*, *calculate*, *chalk*, *walk*. Our *heel*, A.Sax. *hela*, seems cognate with Irish *sal;* but whether with *calx*, I refer to my readers. By the bye, *chaladza* also meant the *hardened* internal part of *ivory;* and how that could be derived from *chalao*, to relax, I leave to learned pundits to determine.—*Baron-brack*, a kind of cake, is the Irish *bairin breac*, or speckled cake, (Welsh, *bara brech*, or speckled bread,) from the currants formerly diffused therein, but, alas, fashion has banished them, though the name remains. *Bara* is connected with Latin *far*, English, *barley*, *bere*, and *bread*. The Hebrew *bar*, corn, wheat, seems to be the root, and connected in the Hebrew verb with *purge* and *pure*, meaning cleaned grain; *breac*, spotted, is the English *freckled*.—*Usquebaugh* and *usquebwee* seem to have been generally confounded; the former is the "*water of life*," French *eau-de-vie*, Irish *uisge beatha*, from the former part of which we have rather absurdly *whiskey*, which is more frequently perhaps "*water of death*." The latter which was called wrongly *usquebaugh* for *uisge-buidhe*, or *yellow water*, was a *liqueur* composed of several ingredients, with spirit for a basis, and coloured *yellow* with saffron, whence its distinctive name.

It is very singular that the words *tartan*, *kilt*, and *plaid*, seem scarcely Celtic. Whether the first may be *tar-dathan*, crossed colors, I am doubtful, but offer it as a conjecture: *dath* is our *dye*. The proper name of the second is *filleadh-beag*, or small folds or plaits, corrupted into *philabeg*. The Gaelic *plaide* seems to have meant a blanket, but that was probably of modern origin: I do not know whether the word may not be so too. The Celtic word for plaid would be *breacán*, in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and *breithyn*, in Welsh, meaning striped or chequered.

Of *bachelor*, Dr. Sullivan says very correctly, "The term, whatever may have been its origin, was first applied to young, and consequently unmarried, persons." Now, the Welsh *bach* means small (Irish *beag*), *bachgen*, a boy, like *boughal (buachaill)* in Irish, (generally referred to Greek *boukol-os*, a cattle or herd boy.) In French, the root took the form *bace*, *bacele*, *bacelier*, *bachelier*, for a young man or woman; hence *bachelor*, an unmarried person, an inferior degree. How much nonsense (miscalled learning) a very slight knowledge of Celtic would save us from, may be seen in the other usual derivations from *bas chevalier*, *baccalaureatus*, *baculus aureus*, and so forth.

The game of *cricket* has not been satisfactorily derived. I am persuaded that it is simply *wicket*, in Welsh *gwiced*, and that "cricket" is a corruption. It is the *wicket*-game.—*Cwm*, Welsh, is a hollow; Saxon *coomb*; our honey-*comb*, cata*comb*, from Greek *katakumbé*, the same. Hence perhaps, *Comber*, near Belfast.—*Cwrw*, Welsh, ale or beer, is perhaps related to *Ceres* and *cervisia*, in Latin, and to *krithé*, or barley, in Greek —*Chwys*, *schweiss*, *sweat*, and *sudor*, seem forms of the same root, in Welsh, German, English, and Latin.—Welsh *chwedlu*, to fable, cognate with A S. *cwethan*, to speak, seems to account for *wheedle*; *chwil*, a beetle, for *clock*; *chwiogl*, craft, for *cogging?* So, *dulas*, dark grey (Irish *dubh-glas*), accounts for *dowlas* and *Douglas*; *du* black (Ir. dubh) for *dun*, *dusky*; in Welsh, *dwn*.—Welsh *ebilio*, to bore, *ebill*, an auger, explains *wcevil*, and perhaps *wimble* and *gimblet*; Welsh *ffroen*, a nose, and *ffrwyn*, a bridle, Lat. *frænum*, a nose-band, or ring; Welsh *ffur*, wily, Lat. *fur*, Gr. *phor*, a thief; *ffured*, a ferret, *viverra* in Latin; *ffwd*, quick motion, *fidgets*; *ffwdanus*, *fidgetty*; *gag*, *gagen*, a *chink*, and *gag*, stopping a chink, or the mouth forced open, cognate with Gr. *chaino*, and Eng. *yawn*. W. *gallu*, to be able, also may, can, in English *could* (or *colde*, old spelling), Latin *valeo*, and *gallant*, *valiant*, with many others. *Gar*, the shank, seems a good root for *garan*, a *crane*, and *heron*, Greek *geranos*. *Gefyn*, a fetter, is English *gyve*, as Irish *geibheal*, fetters, is Hebrew *KeBeL*, a fetter. We get *herd* from Welsh *gre* the same, through *gread* herding; Latin *grex*. Welsh *gwaes*, a pledge, connects *gage*, *engage*, with *vas* and *vadimonium*. *Gwaewffon* unites, probably, *weapon* with *javelin*, though the Spanish *jabalina* is strictly *boar*-spear, from *jabal*, wild boar.

W. Drennan.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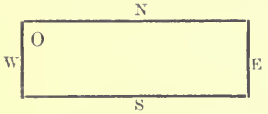
# REMARKABLE ANCIENT CEMETERY IN THE COUNTY OF DOWN.

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago there existed in the demesne of Lord Londonderry, at Mountstewart, near the village of Grey Abbey, a cairn of considerable size, formed, in the usual manner, with small stones heaped together, and presenting no peculiarity in its appearance to distinguish it from other tumuli of the the same kind which are so numerous throughout Ulster. Circumstances, however, having rendered its removal desirable, it was opened about the year 1786, and disclosed a very remarkable cemetery contained within it. Fortunately, an intelligent observer, residing near the place, took an interest in the discovery, and carefully watched the progress of the excavation. The late Dr. Stephenson of Belfast, who then resided at Grey Abbey, noted down all the particulars, and published, at a subsequent period, a short description of the place in a pamphlet, now out of print and forgotten, entitled *An Historical Essay on the Parish and Congregation of Greyabbey*, by S. M. Stephenson, M. D. (Belfast, 1828.) As this is the only record now remaining of a very interesting discovery, we think it well worthy of being preserved in a more permanent form, especially as we are able to give a copy of the engraving which accompanied the description, and which renders it quite intelligible.

## EXTRACTS FROM DR. STEPHENSON'S PAMPHLET.

"My intention in describing those small monuments is, that the reader might more easily conceive the meaning of a description of the contents of a very extensive monument, which I had an opportunity of minutely examining, and which stood in a beautiful little plain, near the Temple of the Winds in Mountstewart demesne, in the possession of the R^t^ Hon^ble^ Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Londonderry. This ancient tumulus had the appearance of a Carn, or great heap of stones, about five feet high, and thirty feet diameter at the base. An English projector supposed that if this plain were improved by drains, and the trenches filled up with the contents of this heap of stones, its beauty and utility would be greatly increased. As soon as leave was given, the trenches were cut, and men were ordered to complete the work. The men fortunately commenced at the south side of the heap: here they found a great stone covering four flags on edge as a box, one at bottom. A man saw at top a small earthen vessel, which he imagined contained hidden treasure. The men struggling for the prize soon broke the vessel, and, as their reward, found in it a small quantity of blackish granulated earth. This vessel, and every one they found in the tumulus, were about the size of a quart measure. The bottom of the box, or, as we may call it, the tomb, was strewed over with fragments of bones which had been exposed to an intense degree of heat, and with bits of charcoal of wood. Some of these tombs contained a little gravel mixed with the other

contents; which shows that the bodies containing these bones were burnt upon a gravelly shore, and that, in sweeping up the bones, a little gravel was swept up with them. All the urns were nearly of the same size, but not perfectly of the same form. This may be seen in Harris's Ware vol. 2, fol., Dublin edition. The urns were made of the common clay which abounds in this country, and were formed upon a potter's wheel. They were generally heart-shaped, and ornamented with differently formed chasings, but without the figure of any animal, hieroglyphic, or letter of inscription upon them. The bottom of each was softer than the mouth: we conclude that they were burnt by placing them upon a stone, and putting fire around them. The bottom of each box generally consisted of one entire flag; when such could not be found, the bottom consisted of small flags cemented together with common clay. In some of the tombs, in place of an urn, a little clay was found: in that case the covering lid was too small, or the under side of it too convex, which allowed the rain-water to fall upon the urn, and reduce it to its original appearance. Each box was about three feet long by eighteen inches wide. In the centre of the Carn a chest was found four times as large as any of the rest; the cover of it was lower than the Carn, so that it allowed a hollow in the centre of the Carn. The chest was east and west; it was perfectly clean, without either bones or urn in it, which shows it was intended as a directory to point out the position of the small tombs. The whole of the Carn, south of the centre, was closely and regularly filled with the small tombs; and in the north-west corner of each box an urn was found, thus:—




"Although no tombs or urns were found on the north side of the Carn, stones were occasionally added to it, and uniformly preserved.

"The number of the tombs and urns cannot now be precisely ascertained: I think we may safely say they were between sixty and seventy. Each urn was placed in a point within the tomb which corresponded with a similar point in every other tomb, that is, in the north-west corner.

"It is necessary to observe, that the small draught is a representation of the appearance of the boxes, after the small stones were removed off the tumulus, except the great centre chest."

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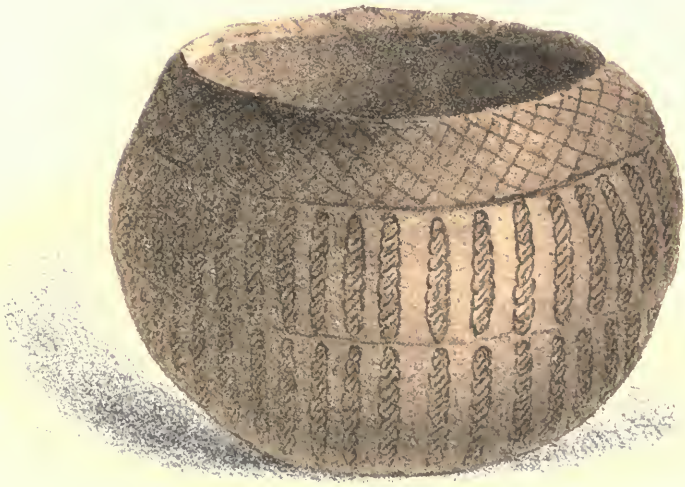
Four very perfect specimens of the urns found in this cemetery are still in the possession of Dr. Robert Stephenson, of Wellington Place, Belfast, the successor of the gentleman above referred to; and by his permission the accompanying accurate drawings of them have been made. They are represented one-quarter of the actual size. These urns are all different in their ornamentation, though nearly similar in form and dimensions; and probably represent the chief varieties that were discovered. They are of the size and shape of those most generally found in this country, and are as hard and solid as when they left the workman's hand. They were exhibited with the great collection of Ulster antiquities in the Belfast Museum in 1852, during the



meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and formed part of a most extensive series of sepulchral urns found in the province, which excited the surprise of the visitors, especially of those from England. Indeed, the records existing of the repeated discovery of such urns throughout the whole North of Ireland, prove that this mode of interment was, at some period, universal; though, as yet, we have no clue to determine the date. The urns are usually found deposited singly under cairns of stones, or in earthen tumuli; occasionally in considerable numbers in the same place, but without any apparent regularity in their position. No account, however, that we are aware of, has yet been published of so systematic an arrangement as occurs in this cemetery, where the stone coffin or cist is combined with the urn-interment.

[Edit.]

## RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS IN HIGH STREET, BELFAST.

Although many new and spacious streets in Belfast now rival the old leading thoroughfare, High Street, it still continues to be the principal artery through which circulates the traffic of the town. Its superior width has arisen from the circumstance that, until the close of the last century, the river which flows down its centre remained open through its whole extent, and a convenient space intervened between its banks and the row of houses on each side: so that on market and fair-days there was ample room for the erection of booths without impeding the thoroughfare. Besides wooden foot-bridges, the river was crossed by the following stone-bridges: one opposite Bridge Street (whence it has its name), one opposite Church Lane and Skipper Street, and another between the two, in front of the establishment of Mr. John G. McGee. Remains of these three bridges were found in good condition during the recent excavations. From the following advertisement, which appears in the *Belfast News-Letter* of 5th August, 1775, it would appear that there was likewise another stone-bridge higher up:—

"A MILCH-ASS.

"The foal newly dropped, to be sold by auction, on the Stone-bridge, before the Donegall Arms, Belfast, exactly at one of the clock, on Friday the 12th instant."

Towards the close of the last century, the river was, for the first time, arched over as far down as the site of the present St. George's Church: and about the years 1808-11, the arching was continued as far as Store Lane. No record exists of any objects found in the river at these periods. In 1854-5, this arched sewer was opened and re-built from Store Lane to Skipper Street or above it.

During the progress of the work a number of tobacco-pipes of antique form were found, closely resembling some which had been discovered near Carrickfergus Castle. Pipes of precisely the same description have been found in the ruins of Linlithgow, in Scotland, in an old room which had not been used for a long period. Although very different from any pipes now in use, it is not probable we can attribute to any of these a great antiquity. On the occasion referred to, a considerable number of coins were also found in the bed of the river, specimens of which are preserved in the cabinet of Dr. M'Gee, of this town, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing particulars. The following are the chief varieties as kindly furnished by him :—

French copper coins, inscribed DOUBLE TOURNOIS, of Louis XIII. and XIV. These were struck at Tours, and were worth one-twelfth of a penny.

Scottish copper coins of Mary.

Large quantities of the "Gun-money" of James II., which was forced into circulation in Ireland by the summary process of hanging any one who refused it: although the largest of these pieces, the half-crown, was not intrinsically worth more than three farthings! The specimens found comprised also crown-pieces, which, however, were nothing more than the half-crowns re-stamped, some of them retaining distinct traces of the previous stamping; likewise shillings and sixpences. All these coins bear the names of the various months in which they were struck: the great majority of them are of gun-metal, but a few leaden ones were also found.

Copper coins of William and Mary, and of Charles II.

A copper coin supposed to be one of the Pretender, bearing the legend VOX POPULI, reverse, a figure of Hibernia, date 1760.

Copper coins of Charles I., with a piece of yellow brass inlaid, to represent a golden crown, and with the inscriptions ECCE GREX FLOREAT REX, and QUIESCAT PLEBS. These coins are figured in Simon's *Irish Coins*, Pl. 7, figs. 141 and 142.

Likewise the following local tokens :—

Belfast.—HUGH MAGARRAGH, 2 PENCE, 1736. This coin is figured in Snelling's second additional plate to Simon's *Irish Coins*, fig. 22; but by a mistake it is shown with the obverse belonging to another token, fig. 21.

Belfast.—WM. RINGLAND, 2 PENCE.

Belfast.—GEORGE MARTIN, 1 PENNY.

Carrickfergus.—ANTHONY HALL, 1 PENNY.

Carrickfergus.—ANTHONY HALL, 1 PENNY (another type).

Carrickfergus.—ANDREW WILLOVGHBY, 1 PENNY.

Carrickfergus.—IOHN WADMAN, 1 PENNY.

Hollywood.—IAMES SIM, 1 PENNY.

Antrim.—MATTHEW BETHELL, POST M^TR, 1671, 1 PENNY.

Drogheda.————BIRD, MARCHANT, 1 PENNY.

Dromore.—IOHN GVTHRY, 1 PENNY.

It is mentioned in the Supplement to Simon's *Irish Coins* (p. 7), that the only token known to be struck for a *single parish* was that of WILL. HALL, of Dromore, which bears on the reverse the inscription, FOR THE PARISH OF DROMORE. This Will. Hall was nephew to the Anthony Hall, of Carrickfergus, already noted.

Waterford.—EDWARD K.————1 PENNY.

Dublin.————MARCHANT, 1 HALFPENNY.

It will be observed from the preceding list, that very few of the local tokens were of the value of two-pence, and these were struck at Belfast. They were usually known by the name of "two-penny tickets;" and the saying is still quite common among us, "not worth a two-penny ticket," although its origin is forgotten.

A good many silver coins were found, chiefly of Elizabeth, which found their way to the silversmiths. There was likewise a number of base metal.

During last year (1860) the upper portion of the arched sewer in High Street was opened through its entire length, and a much more capacious one constructed to meet the requirements of the greatly increased population. As before, it followed the course of the old channel or bed of the river, which, at Castle Place, passes under the north-east angle of the old "Bank Buildings," and thence up Chapel Lane. During the progress of this work a large number of articles were found. Of ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS only a few examples occurred, of which the principal were, a *boar's tusk*, and an antique fork or knife-handle of carved *ivory*.* In Castle Place a *human skeleton* was discovered. It appeared to be incomplete, but the whole may not have been observed by the workmen employed in the excavation. The portions distinctly recollected by the Clerk of the Works are, the lower jaw, a thigh bone, and some ribs. The direction in which the remains lay seemed to be at about right angles to the cutting; and, as High Street runs East and West, this would be quite across the usual direction adopted in interments, and would countenance the supposition that the skeleton was that of a condemned person; which is also corroborated by the fact that executions did take place near the spot, namely opposite to the old Market House, which occupied the place where Mr. M^cComb's house now stands. But, on the other hand, the regular

* I do not include the numerous shells of Mollusca, of existing species, which have been found throughout the foundations of the town as well as in these excavations, and of which I published a list in the *Proceedings of the British Association* for 1852.

place for such exceptional interments was at the "Long Bank," behind Ann Street. Perhaps the skeleton may have been that of a suicide who had been buried (as customary) where four ways met; but this hypothesis would require a road to have existed corresponding to the present Castle Court, opposite to which opening the discovery was made, unless we consider the fourth road to have been represented by the neighbouring Donegall Place.

A paved *foot-way*, at least six feet wide, was met with, lying three feet below the level of the present pavement, and running along the south side of the river from opposite Legg's Lane nearly to Donegall Place. This paved way is deserving of further attention, should any occasion of prosecuting inquiry hereafter occur. Nearly opposite the "Donegall Arms" the excavation took new ground, leaving the old river on the right in order to form a junction with the sewer of Donegall Place. Throughout all this portion of the cutting the same paved foot-way was met with, extending further to one side than the workmen had occasion to open, and it appeared to lead up Castle Street. The pavement was neatly executed of the ordinary paving-stones used in the town. The position of this foot-way suggests the probability of a former lower level of the whole street. The present level of the street at the old "Bank Buildings" is 16 feet above the Dock sill, whereas that of the lower portion of High Street is only 13 feet. The difference (3 feet) corresponds exactly with the depth below the surface at which the old paved road was found.

The greater part of the coins and other articles which were discovered during the excavations of 1860 were secured by Mr. John G. McGee, who took a laudable interest in collecting and preserving them, and liberally rewarded the labourers who brought them to him. I have to express my thanks for the kind facilities he has afforded me of examining them. Mr. Geo. C. Hyndman, the Rev. W. M'Ilwaine, Dr. James Moore, Mr. Robert MacAdam, Mr. Alexander Herdman, Mr. W. H. Patterson, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Kearns, Mr. Galloway, and several others, were more or less successful collectors, and willingly gave me an opportunity of seeing the specimens they had obtained. So much attention was excited by the number of objects found, that it is probable little of any interest has been lost. Without attempting to give a complete catalogue, I shall specify the principal articles.

Besides the animal productions above mentioned, there were articles of UNALTERED MINERAL SUBSTANCE, with which I shall commence.

A white carnelian *seal-stone* (which Mr. McGee kindly presented to me) bore, singularly enough, the letters J.G, the initials of my own name!

A *quern-stone*, found in Castle Place, came also into my possession, but I have not been able to ascertain whether it had formed a part of any structural work, being aware that such stones were frequently introduced into foundations "for luck."

Of MANUFACTURED MINERAL SUBSTANCE, as in the previous examination, the *antique tobacco pipes* made their appearance in large numbers.

Of other fictile articles the most remarkable were two small earthenware *cups*, glazed black, and with three handles, and a small pot or *crucible* of unusual form

The stem of an antique *wine-glass* exhibited a peculiar irridescence, produced no doubt by its long inhumation.

Of PEWTER or LEADEN manufactured articles there were several, including three or four *spoons* of very antiquated form, with wide flat bowls. These were stamped—one with a double-headed eagle—and were, no doubt, soldiers' spoons. There were also three smaller spoons.

Five leaden *tickets* (most probably for affixing to linen webs); one is marked with a letter T, having a P formed on its stem, another with a W, having a D formed on its last stroke.

Handle and hinges of a pewter *drinking-stoup*.

A pewter *shoe-buckle* without device.

A ring-shaped *brooch*, with a circle of V's round its circumference. The spaces contained each a stud or knob.

Three leaden *tokens*, marked with a circle divided into quadrants. It has been suggested to me that these may have been used in the army of James II. in paying the soldiers.

Three leaden *weights*, one of about half-a-pound, another about an ounce-and-a-half, and the third exactly one ounce; also a pewter ring-shaped weight.

Of BRAZEN objects there were the following:—

Three antique *spurs*, one of them of the large kind usually called the "Cromwell spur," and a buckle corresponding.

The corner *clamp* of a brass-bound cupboard.

An old-fashioned *ring*, of the size now used for an umbrella or a parasol.

A *stamp*, with devices on both ends, probably trade-marks; one being a simple rectangular net-work, the other a square with a small knob at the four sides, and a rectangular net-work within, placed diagonally as regards the square.

A fine bold *fleur-de-lis* for a soldier's hat, with some of the felt adhering to it.

A singularly large *trigger-guard* for a gun.

Four *buttons*; one for a court-suit, with part of the gold plate still remaining; another having on it the head of a leopard rampant; and another with a St. George's cross, having a rose in the centre, and five minute ring-shaped studs on each of the four arms, the spaces between the arms being filled with rectangular net-work.

A very broad-headed copper *nail*.

Two large bronze *seals*.

Of FOREIGN COPPER COINS, there were specimens of the following:

A Chinese "*cash*."

Three thin *medallions*; one of the kind said to have been issued at Nuremberg, by monks, bearing a device like two hearts joined, and surmounted by two crosses; another with the arms of

some German or Flemish state, very indistinct; the third with the legend, LUDOVIC. XIII. D. G. FRANC. ET. NA. REX., and on the reverse, WOLFLAUFER. RECH. PFENIGMACHER. INV.

A Papal copper coin, with the legend, VRBANVS. VIII. PONT. MAX.

A Spanish copper coin, with the legend, PHILIPP . . . III. D. G., and on the reverse, HISP . . . REX * 1664. S. R. 16. This coin bears the evidence of having been struck out of a sheet of copper, for the instrument which cut off the coin has included a portion of a neighbouring impression, and lost a part of its own.

Two Danish billon coins, value two skillings, of Christianus 7.

A Norwegian billon coin, value two skillings, of CARL. XIV.

A number of the French "Double Tournois," of LOVIS XIII.; LVD. XIII.; GASTONVS. V.D. LA. SOVDOM; FERD. HENR. D. G. PRIAVR; GASTONVS VI. DE. LA. SOVDOM; TOVR. DVC. D. B VILLON.

A "Double Lorraine," LOVIS. XIII.; and a "Denier Tournois," of GAST. PATR. R. VS. FR. PR. DOPI. V., and GASTON V. F. P. D.

Some of the "Doubles" have been re-stamped on the field of the coin, with the inscription, IOHN BVSH OF BELFAST, which appears by the presence of the word OF to be an unpublished variety of his tokens, the others known being without it. In all of them the value, 1d., is re-stamped on the reverse field of the coin. The stamping has not much interfered with the original legend on either side,—LOVIS XIII., and so forth.

This leads us to the local tokens, of which the following varieties were found, in addition to those already specified, as met with in the previous excavation.

| *Obverse.* | *Reverse.* |
|---|---|
| ALEXANDER SINKLAR | IN BELFAST, 1657 |
| GEO. MICCARTNEY, | OF BELFAST, 1653 |
| GEORGE MARTIN OF | BELFAST, MARCHANT, 1669 |
| DO. | BELFAST, MARCHT 1637 |
| HENRY SMITH IN | BELFAST, MERCHT |
| HUGH ECCLES OF | BELFAST, MARCHANT |
| HUGH MAGARRAGH. BELFAST, 1732 | FIERCE & STRONG. 2P. |
| HVMPHRY DOBBIN OF | BELFAST, MARCHT 1670 |
| IAMES CHALMERS IN | BELFAST, MARCHANT, 1670 |
| IOHN CLVGSTON | IN BELFAST 1656 |
| IOHN GIVAN | IN BELFAST |
| IOHN STEWARD OF | BELFAST, 1656 |
| MICHAELL BIGGER | OF BELFAST, 1657 |
| WILLIAM MOORE IN | BELFAST, MARCHANT |
| WILLIAM SMITH | OF BELFAST 1657 |

&

Proceeding in the order of distances from Belfast, we next come, in our list of tokens found, to

IAMES SIM OF HOLLYWOOD
ADDAM LEATHES OF LISBVRNE, GENT.
GEORGE LOCKHART LISBVRN, MARCHT

The presence of the letter H in this surname indicates an unpublished variety. The A and R are also united, which circumstance may have led Dr. Aquilla Smith* to suppose that there was no H in the surname.

DENIS MAGEE, MARCHT OF LISNEGARVY
WILLIAM DOVLAR MAR ANARD IN LISBORN. This appears to be quite unknown, as I cannot find a record of it either in Dr. Aquilla Smith's Catalogue or Supplement of *Tradesmen's Tokens Current in Ireland.*

W. R. D. M. LISNEGARVIE.

This specimen is struck on a French "Double Tournois," and still shows distinctly some of the previous stamping, as also do three others which appear to be unpublished varieties, viz:—

W. R. (in the field), and on the reverse $1^{D}$ (in the field)
I M do. do. $M^{I}$ do.
H. E. do. do. B. E. do.

The last coin has been clipped into a square shape, which deprives it of the letter preceding the H on the one side, and that succeeding the E on the other.

ANDREW WILLOVGHBY OF CARRACKFARGVS.
ANTHONY HALL IN CARRICKFERGVS.
IAMES CLEALAND OF BANGOR
ICHN WHITE OF ANTRIM MARCHANT
MATTHEW BETHELL POST MSTR IN ANTRIM, 1671.
WILL STEWART IN ANTRVM MARCHANT
WILLIAM HALTRIGE OF DROMOR, 1668.
WILLIAM MEATLAND IN DROMOORE. This appears to be an unpublished token.
THOMAS WHITE OF LVRGAN, 1666.
RO. NELLSON OF DVNGANON APOTHCRY
DAVID CHAMBERS IN MONAGHAN 1663. I do not see this token in any of the lists published.
MIC. WILSON OF DVBLIN HIS HALFPENY, 1672.
A CORKE FARTHING A CORKE FARTHING. This seems to show a

previous stamping, like that of the French *Double*.

Passing from local tokens to coins of the realm, we meet with the following :—

Two base sixpences, likely of Elizabeth, but obliterated.

A base crown-piece, of Charles I., of the type of the circular shield, noted in Leake's *Coins*. The equestrian figure on the obverse has been stamped twice with the same die, but the operation has deranged the metal, so that the horse appears with eight legs.

Two of the so-called St. Patrick's farthings.

Of Charles II.'s coinage there were found—

An Irish halfpenny, with the legend, CAROLUS II. DEI GRATIA.

A Scottish halfpenny.

A farthing with CAROLUS A CAROLO, and on the reverse, BRITANNIARVM REX. Specimens of the types, CAR. II. D. G. SCO. ANG. . . . with two sceptres *en saltière*, and a crown in the field, and CAR. D. G. SCOT. ANG. FRA. ET HIB. R., with C R under a crown in the field; all having on the reverse, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET. Also, some very fresh specimens of the minute farthing, issued by the government in this reign to counteract the issue of private tokens, which was then prohibited by Act of Parliament, having become so excessive that in London alone there were in circulation *three thousand* varieties :—

One with two sceptres *en saltière* under a crown.

Another with the same, under a crown surrounded by a circle.

Another with C II R under a crown, surrounded by a circle.

A singular brass medallion found deserves notice. It represents the King in an oak-tree, with a huge crown on his head, and the sun beaming full upon him, with the legend, THE ROYALL OAKE. D. G. L. R.

Of James II. we have several memorials in shillings, and a half-crown of the "gun-money." The shillings are dated JULY 1689 and IRO 1689, and the half-crown, MAY 1690. The latter is scarcely larger than the shilling-piece, which corroborates the statement that the size of the coins was reduced as the months advanced.

Also the "Plantation Halfpenny" of pewter, supposed to have been coined for the Colonies [see Leake]. It has a graining upon the rim; on the field the king's figure on horseback in a military posture, and the legend IACOBUS II. D. G. MAG. BRI. FRAN. ET HIB. REX. On the reverse the four shields in cross under as many crowns, the upper part of the shields fastened to each other by a chain; legend VAL 24. PART. REAL HISPAN.

Of William and Mary there are Scottish and Irish halfpennies dated 1692, the latter of pewter. Also the singular farthing of pewter, with a copper stud in the centre, and the inscription round

the rim, NUMMORUM FAMULUS. Likewise a Scottish farthing, bearing the letters W M interlaced.

Of gold coins found, I possess the only specimen, being one of the old seven-shilling pieces current in the reign of George III.

Mr. John G. M'Gee obtained a curious gold signet ring, bearing the device of a single-headed eagle.

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Before closing the present notice I would ask permission to put on record one or two facts about "Old Belfast" which may serve to connect its history with the present time. It may be interesting to posterity to know that, until a comparatively recent period, the town was surrounded by woods. It was approached through trees from Carrickfergus, and some of these doubtless still remain near the present Shore Road. The road leading from the strand (on the County Antrim side) passed probably through James's Street (now Corporation Street) and Green Street (called after a Mr. Green who built it) by Grattan Street, which latter two streets bore the names respectively of the Fore and Back *Plantation*. Cromac *Wood*, a name still in use though the wood has disappeared, records the same characteristic on the opposite side. It was at one time contemplated by government to establish a navy ship-building yard here, as timber was abundant and of a superior description; but three hundred years ago, the English sway was too precarious in this part of Ireland to render such an undertaking safe. Some of the old trees are still to be seen in Cromac Park. With regard to the military defences of Belfast, though all traces of the fortifications have long vanished, it may be noted that John Street has preserved the form and outline of one of the salient angles, and retained until quite recently among old people the name of "The Bastion." A portion of some of the out-works was existing until lately on the site of Brown's Square; and at the back of the present Buildings in Fountain Street there was standing not long since a portion of the old wall of the town.

JOHN GRAINGER, A.M.

PRINCE'S DOCK, BELFAST.

# SHANE O'NEILL'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ANTRIM SCOTS, 1565.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the royal authority in Scotland had succeeded, after a violent and protracted struggle, in abolishing virtually, though not in name, the rival authority known as the *Lordship of the Isles*. The closing catastrophe of the Island-Kingdom was the massacre of certain leading members of the family of Mac Donnell, in 1499, by their kinsman, James IV., of Scotland, assisted by the Mac Ceans of Ardnamurchan,[a] who, also, were connected by family ties with the victims. This fatal crisis in their affairs seems to have determined the Mac Donnells to seek a new home on the Irish shore, which then offered a tempting field for their warlike propensities, and to which they had a plausible introduction through their family estate in the Glynns of Antrim.[b] In addition to the influence they

[a] The Mac Ceans, or Mac Ians, were descendants of Eoin (John), grandson of Angus *Mor* Mac Donnell. The ruins of their castle of *Mingarrie* occupy a low rocky promontory on the southern coast of Ardnamurchan, in Argyleshire. "In 1493, James IV., then in the highlands receiving the submission of the vassals of the Lordship of the Isles, dated a charter at the Castle in *Ardmurquhane*. In 1499, *Mingarrie* was included in a grant by the same king to John McEan, of Ardnamurchan. In 1515, James V. paid the sum of £33 6s. 8d. to Dowgall Campbell for expenses 'maid on marinaries quhilkis he had with him in the Gabriell for the supporting of Makkan's house quhen it was first be segit be Schr Donald Ylis' (of the Isles). Two years afterwards, Sir Donald took the castle, and razed it to the ground. In 1519, James V. granted to Colin, Earl of Argyle, 'the Castle of Ardmurquhan,' with the lands. In 1550, Queen Mary, of Scotland, confirmed a grant of the castle and estates, made by Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to his son-in-law, James Mac Donnell, of Dunnavecht; and in the same year confirmed it to the Earl himself, as resigned to James V. by Mariot McKane, daughter of John McKane, of Ardnammrchan. In 1589, the castle was besieged by Maclean of Dowart (Mull) and his men, assisted by one hundred Spanish soldiers from the Florida, one of the vessels of the great Armada which had been driven into the harbour of Tobermory. In 1612, a commission was granted by Sir Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to Donald Campbell, of Barbreck-Lochow, 'to take and receive' the Castle of Mingarrie, and to put keepers into it at the Earl's expense, with power to summon before him the tenants of Ardnamurchan, to fix and collect the Earl's rents, and to punish refractory tenants. In 1644, the castle was taken by Allaster Mac Donnell, known as *Colquitto*, and was afterwards besieged without success by the Marquis of Argyle."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii., pp. 196, 197.

[b] These estates came into the family of the Mac Donnells by the marriage of John of Islay, called also John *Mor*, with Margery Bisset, the daughter and heiress of John Bissett. The Bysets or Bissets were a great Anglo-Norman family which came originally to England with William the Conqueror, and removed thence into Scotland during the reign of William the Lion. They appear to have divided into two leading branches, the one settling in the north, the other in the south, of Scotland. The northern Bissets dwelt in the district of the Aird, Inverness, and possessed large estates in the parishes of Kilmorack and Rosemarkie. At the close of the twelfth century, the whole lands of the former were granted in fee to John *Byseth*, of Lovat. For many years a controversy concerning church patronage raged between him and two successive bishops of Moray, and was finally settled by the intervention of Pope Alexander IV. In the year 1230, Sir John Bysett founded the priory of Beauly, in the parish of Kilmorack, for monks of the order of Vallis Caulium. The terms of the foundation were, that the monks should pray for the founder during

might thus expect to possess, it must be remembered, that the Lords of the Isles, in their generations, had formed matrimonial alliances with many of the leading families in the North of Ireland, and had thus prepared the way, in some measure, for the settlement of the Scots on the Antrim coast. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the island-kings had intermarried, from time to time, with the great Ulster Houses of the O'Cahans of Dunseverick, the Bissets of the Glynns, the O'Neills of Tyrone, the O'Donnells of Tyrconnel, and the Savages of the Ardes in Down. Alexander *Carrach* Mac Donnell, the only male of the family who had escaped when his father, brothers, and grandfather were treacherously slain, afterwards married Catherine Mac Cean, the daughter of his fierce enemy, of Ardnamurchan, and the union seems to have terminated the feud which had long existed between these two families of the same race. The children of this marriage were eight sons, who followed their father's fortunes in Ireland, and four of whom, namely, James, Colla, Alexander, and Somhairle, or Sorley, became distinguished leaders of the Scots in Ireland.[c]

Although James IV. of Scotland had barbarously destroyed the nearest relatives of Alexander *Carrach*, James V. became a firm friend and ally of this chieftain, especially when through him there was a hope of successful opposition to the English power in Ulster. The Scottish king encouraged the emigration of the Scots into Ireland, believing that under the leadership of the Mac Donnells they would not cease to be his subjects, although removed beyond the limits of his kingdom. This anti-English policy was ably imitated by Alexander *Carrach*, and as ably carried out after his death, by his warlike sons. One of the original landing-places of the Scots, on their coming

his life, receive his body when dead, and commemorate him by continual sacrifices and works of piety. See *Originies Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii., pp. 508, 514.

Besides the estates in the Aird, Sir John Bysett was Lord of Altyre in Moray, and of Redcastle and Ardmanoch in the Black Isle. He left three daughters, Mary, Cecilia, and Elizabeth. From Mary were descended the Frazers of Lovat; Cecilia married a Fenton; and Elizabeth became the wife of Sir Andrew de Bosco, having, as part of her dowry, the estate of Kilravock, on the river Nairn. The male line of the northern Bissets had thus failed before the southern branch of the family had made themselves infamous by the murder of Patrick, Earl of Athol, in 1242. Suspicion fell principally on William Byset, an officer in the Queen's household, and especially as he had prevailed on the Queen to spend four days at his castle, on her journey south from Moray, at the very time when the murder at Haddington was perpetrated on the gallant young Earl of Athol, after a great tournament held at the latter place. The southern Bysets were forthwith banished from Scotland, having been previously compelled to take a vow to join the Crusade, and never return to their native land. On this condition they were permitted to sell their estates and goods, but, instead of going to the Holy Land, they came to the Antrim coast. Fordun concludes his account of their expulsion and migration to the Glynnes thus:—"*Quorum posteritas Hiberniam inhabitat usque nunc.*" —See *Sketches of Early Scotch History, by C. Innes.*—On coming to the Antrim coast, Walter Byset and John Byset, his nephew, obtained grants of lands from the Earl of Ulster. In 1279, the son and heir of John, now mentioned, held the seven lordships of the Glynnes, *in capite*, from Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster.—See *Reeves's Eccl. Antiq.*, pp. 325, 388; *Annals of Ireland*, A.D. 1383, 1387, 1422, 1495, 1512; *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 7, 27.

[c] There was one daughter, Mary, married to Hector *Mor* Maclean, of Mull.

to the Antrim coast, was Marketon Bay (*Mairgetown*, from the river Mairge, which here empties itself into the sea); and, most probably, the first Antrim residence occupied by Alexander *Carrach* and his sons, was *Bailecaislein*, adjoining the bay, where there had existed a fortified position from time immemorial. The Scots, it is true, very rapidly spread themselves into other districts; as they became more powerful, or less afraid of opposition, their reinforcements were often landed at Cushendun and Red Bay; but Ballycastle was known as one of their earliest settlements, and from it, as a base of operations, they carried the clan Donnell banner into almost every corner of Ulster. The first, and indeed, only place of *sepulture* adopted by the Mac Donnells on the Antrim coast, was the old abbey of Bun-na-Mairge, in the immediate vicinity of Ballycastle, a fact which, of itself, would prove that they had selected this locality as their original position on the Irish shore.[d]

They were soon able not only to establish their family claim to the Glynns of Antrim, but also to annex the fertile and pleasant fields of the Route. Between the years 1533 and 1555, they had accomplished these objects, after a fierce struggle with the Mac Quillans, and repeated conflicts with the English, the O'Cahans, and the O'Neills. On the death of Alexander *Carrach*, his eldest son, James Mac Donnell, succeeded to the chieftainship of the Scots in Ireland. This leader soon became as popular in Ulster as he was influential in Scotland. In 1545, he was elected Lord of the Isles by permission of the Scottish monarch. His marriage with Agnes Campbell, a daughter of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyle, gave him the possession of large estates in South Cantire, and soon afterwards, a magnificent grant of lands, including the whole of North Cantire, was conferred upon him by Mary, Queen of Scots, with remainder to his brothers Angus, Colla, Sorley, Alexander, and Donnell *Gorm*, in consideration of good services, done during the Queen's minority, in opposing the English, who are described in the deed as the ancient enemies of her kingdom. This grant includes and specifies by name, 294 mark-lands and 53 shilling-lands in North Cantire, 91 mark-lands and 1064 shilling-lands in Isla, 184 shilling-lands in Jura, besides several smaller allotments throughout Argyleshire and the Isles. In 1554, Neal Mac Neill, of Gigha, sold to James Mac

[d] In the neighbourhood of Ballycastle, there lives an humble peasant-farmer, named Peter McGee, who holds a deed of certain lands in Islay, which were granted to his ancestor, *Brian Mhagaodh*, in the year 1408, by Donnell MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles. This document was brought to the Glynns of Antrim, by a descendant of Brian, named John Magee, who followed the fortunes of Sorley *Boy* MacDonnell, was present at the battle of Aura, in Glenshesk, and afterwards obtained a grant of the lands of Ballyeuchan, near Fairhead. The present Peter McGee is lineally descended from the latter; his grandfather sold the last remnant of the Ballyeuchan property; and the old title-deed to lands in Islay is now all that remains in this poor man's cabin, to tell of the honours and possessions from which his family has fallen. The grant is written on goat-skin, in the Irish language, and is still in tolerable preservation. It was probably given at Ardtornish Castle, as several such charters were granted there by Donnell of the Isles, between the years 1390 and 1409. It was this island-king who invaded Scotland at the head of ten thousand men, and fought the famous battle of Harlaw, in 1411, against his uncle, the Duke of Albany, then Regent.

Donnell and his wife Agnes Campbell, the right to various lands in that island, including the office of *Tossach-doir* or steward of all Cantire, from the Mull to Altasynnocht. In 1558, Mary and her first husband, Francis, renewed the original grant to James Mac Donnell, because of his title-deeds having been destroyed in time of war.[e] This destruction was probably inflicted by the Earl of Essex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who landed in the same year on the shores of Cantire, and burned three of Mac Donnells castles. On the 6th of October, Sussex wrote to Queen Elizabeth on board his ship, the *Mary Willoughby*, informing Her Majesty that he had sailed from Dublin on the 14th of September, and arrived in "Lowghe Gylkeran in Kyntyre" on the 29th. "The same day," he continues, "I londed and burned eight myles of leyngth, and therewith James McConell's chief house, called Saudell, a fayre pyle and a stronge. The neixte daye, I crossed over the lande, and burned twelve myles in leyngth on the other syde of the Lowghe, wherein were burned a fayre house of his called Mawher Imore, and a strong castell called Dunalvere" (Dunnaverty).[f]

These losses, however, were amply compensated by the generosity of the Scottish Queen, whose grants, from time to time, enabled James Mac Donnell to assume a princely state, almost equal to that enjoyed by former Lords of the Isles. In addition to his vast estates in Argyleshire and the Western Isles, this powerful chieftain was also acknowledged lord of the Route and Glynnes in Antrim. His popular qualifications as a military leader besides, had rendered him highly influential on the Irish and Scottish shores alike. In every plan formed by the English government for the management of Ireland about this time, the expulsion of the Scots from Ulster was invariably recommended as an indispensable measure to begin with. One such device, at least, was drawn up by Sir John Alen, Clerk to the Council in Ireland, and Master of the Rolls. The difficulty of dealing with the Scots presented itself very forcibly to the acute mind of that able statesman, and the more especially, as he well knew "the greate favour and love that of oulde tyme hathe bene betuene

[e] *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, pp. 5, 7, 259, 266, 270.

[f] See *The Calendar of State Papers*, so ably edited by Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., p. 149. The present Campbelton stands at the upper end of Loch Kilkerran, and is locally known as *Ceau-loch-chille-Chiaran*, "the head of Loch Kilkerran." The castle of Saudell, rather Samhdail, "the quiet or peaceful valley," stood at the entrance of the valley of Glensaudell, on the eastern coast of Cantire. This fortress once served as a stronghold for the Bishops of Argyle. Magherimore House has entirely disappeared. Traces of the castle of Dunnaverty are still visible on a precipitous rock at the mouth of Coniglen, on the southern coast of Cantire, opposite the island of Sanda.

"The old castle of Saddael is a fine square white tower, machicolated and cornicled, standing on the beach beneath a high wooded bank. Buildings have been added to it, too evidently composed of materials withdrawn from the neighbouring monastery, as the ornamental tracery proves. The monastery is situated up the glen in the midst of an extensive cemetery, in the sequestered recesses of a spacious grove of high ash and other trees.

'A lowly dell, a sad and shady ground.'

A torrent descending from the neighbouring mountains flows through it, augmenting by the hoarse murmurs of its cataracts the gloomy solemnity of the scene. Of the monastery, some walls, arches and door-ways alone remain, rough and destitute of architectural interest or beauty. Some ancient monuments of Macdonalds are spread around."—*Lord Teignmouth's Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, 1836, vol. ii., p. 385.

the Quene's highenes' (Mary's) auncestors and the auncestors of James McCoynell, who is of the blode roiall of Skotelande."[g] In the various grants to James Mac Donnell from the Scottish crown, he is always described as of *Dunnavaig and Glennis*, the latter title being derived from his estates in the Glynns of Antrim, and the former from the ancient castle of Dunyveg, or rather Dun-Naomhaig, in Isla. This fortress, one of the earliest residences of the Lords of the Isles, was situated on a vast peninsular rock at the southern side of Lagavoulin Bay. The ruins of Dun-Naomhaig, even at the present day, sufficiently indicate its formidable character and great dimensions. These ruins entirely cover the spacious cliff on which they stand, and consist of a strong tower of stone, together with the remains of several other stone buildings, all of which are protected on the land side by a very thick earthen mound.

On the subjugation of the Route, James Mac Donnell had committed the government or lordship of that territory to his brother Colla, one of his bravest assistants. After his death, which occurred in May, 1558, the seventh brother, Sorley *Boy*, was appointed in his stead. Soon after Sorley's appointment, a fierce war sprung up between the English and John O'Neill, better known as Shane *an Diomais*, or "of the ambition," son of Con O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone. His father nominated a younger son, Matthew, by his second wife, to succeed to the family honours and estates; but Shane slew his half-brother, imprisoned his father, and had himself proclaimed *The O'Neill*, in other words, the chief of the Cinel-Eoghan, or Clan O'Neill, and Lord of Tir-Eoghan (Tyrone), the "country of the race of Eoghan." He represented that Matthew was not the son of the Earl of Tyrone at all, and if Shane's statements are to be admitted as even in part true, he had sustained a very serious wrong, to which, indeed, the meekest spirit in the most enlightened times would hardly be disposed to submit with patience. As the English Government espoused the old earl's quarrel, Shane was thus compelled to strike, not only in defence of his hereditary rights, but also, as he and his adherents believed, for the honour and independence of Ulster. In the war which ensued, both parties applied for aid to the Scots. The Lord Lieutenant, Sussex, induced Queen Elizabeth to write letters with her own hand, to the brothers James and Sorley Mac Donnell, in which she praised their fidelity on former occasions, and proposed liberal terms of alliance for the future. Sussex also, at the same time, despatched an agent named Hutchinson into Scotland, with instructions to solicit the Earl of Argyle's good offices with the Scots, and to carry Queen Elizabeth's proposals to James Mac Donnell, in Cantire. Hutchinson was afterwards to return by the North of Ireland, bringing, if possible, explicit instructions from James Mac Donnell to his brother Sorley in the Route; and by this means, it was hoped that a powerful combination would be formed against O'Neill. He, on the other hand, was able to adduce arguments in favour of himself as being the former ally of the Scots, and of his cause, as being that of right against the usurpations of the English. The Mac Donnells had entered into certain terms with the latter, for mutual protection against

[g] See Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 158.

O'Neill, but Sorley *Boy* soon found that he was left to protect himself; and, rather than risk occasional incursions into his territories, he agreed with Shane to certain conditions which preserved peace for the time between them. It amounted in fact to this, that James Mac Donnell kept the English in temper, without affording them the least actual aid, whilst Sorley *Boy* played the same diplomatic game with O'Neill. The Scottish leaders wished to stand neutral, and they did so; but their neutrality disgusted the belligerent parties very deeply, and brought greater disasters on the Clan Donnell than could have resulted, perhaps, from a different course of policy.

In 1562, O'Neill unexpectedly submitted, and was received by Queen Elizabeth with very gracious but transparent condescension. The truce, inaugurated by profuse displays, on both sides, of cordiality and good faith, was, in reality, a very hollow affair, and only intended to be kept so long as convenience, or perhaps, mere caprice, might dictate. Shane, by way of showing how very amenable he had become, made his submission in the most humiliating form, and, on rising from his knees, instantly set about borrowing a sum of money from her Majesty. He next consulted her respecting various other little matters of a personal and even domestic nature, just as an amiable son or brother might be supposed to do. He besought her permission to attend on Lord Robert Dudley, with a view of learning to ride after the English fashion, to run at tilt, to hawk, shoot, and perform such other exercises as English gentlemen were accustomed to practise. All this must have been the merest hypocritical manœuvre on Shane's part, for he hated every thing English, and had, not long previously, stabbed an unfortunate servant to the heart, on the steps at the entrance of his castle at Edenduffcarrick, because the latter bought biscuit at the shop of an English baker in the town of Antrim.[h] But although no change had really come over the spirit of his political dream, he even went the length of asking Elizabeth to provide him a suitable *English wife;* and it was the Queen, no doubt, who originally suggested to him the propriety of seeking an alliance with the Lady Frances Ratcliffe, sister to the Lord Deputy Sussex. On Shane's return to Ireland, Sussex and the Council met him at Dundalk to execute the indentures agreed upon in London, between himself and the Government. At that meeting, Shane bore himself very proudly; indeed, Sussex seems to have been taken by surprise at some of his princely eccentricities, but especially in reference to his negotiations for a wife. The Lord Deputy, when reporting the proceedings at Dundalk to the Queen, refers to this topic in a very practical style. He states that Shane's sixth demand was "whether I, your Majestie's Lieutenant, would promyse to gyve unto him my sister in marriage? whereunto I answered that that matter was not contayned in the indenture; but after he had performed what to him belonged in the indenture, I would desire him and the rest of the nobilytie to my house at Ardbrakan, as before I had

[h] Local tradition, which is countenanced, at least, if not confirmed, by Shane's known violence and brutality of temper. On the 9th of June, 1561, we find him writing to the Lord Justice, "*Ex conjunctus de Tir Con*," and stating that he had put his own servant to the torture, and cut off his ear, because the latter had failed to express his (Shane's) mind fully and clearly to the English functionary. — Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 173.

done, where he should see and speake with my sister, and if he liked her, and she liked him, they shoulde boothe have my good will, but I could not promyse to gyve her agains her will." As in this proposal, however, Shane was acting the hypocrite himself, he began to fear that he might be met in the same spirit, and perhaps outwitted by the Queen and her deputy. At all events, it does not appear that he was in haste to pay his addresses to this lady, as we find Sussex writing soon afterwards to the Queen that "woorde was sent to Shane owte of the Inglish Pale that my sister was brought over to trappe him, and that if he come to eny governer he shoulde never returne." Nearly two years subsequently, in January, 1564, Shane ventured another faint enquiry as to the Lady Frances, in connexion with "Melefants' for her dowry during her life," and with this, his negotiations for an English wife seem to have terminated.

In the meantime, he began to grow quite weary of his inactive way of life. It is true, he had slightly varied this period of *ennui* by the slaying of his nephew, Brian O'Neill, the son of his half-brother, Matthew, whom he had previously murdered. He had also tortured his father-in-law, Calvagh O'Donnell (whom he seized in 1561), to such an extreme, that the daughter of the latter, Shane's wife, died insane, on witnessing the barbarous cruelty thus inflicted on her father.[1] But these occupations were soon over, and did not long absorb his attention. He yearned for active employment, and pretended that he wished, above all things, to do some act which would evince his gratitude to Elizabeth for all her favours to him. Having probably expressed some such intention to Lord Robert Dudley, the latter cordially approved; whereupon Shane forthwith wrote to the Lord Justice and council at Dublin, stating that as he could see no greater traitors or more dangerous rebels to the Queen's authority than the Scots, he was strongly inclined to inflict signal punishment upon them. But it is believed, and on good grounds, that he was thus craftily preparing his own way for a renewal of the struggle with the Sassanagh. He found that the Scots had become impracticable as allies, that he could no longer dictate what particular policy they must uphold, and that their leader, James Mac Donnell, had become almost as powerful as himself, and much more popular, even in Ulster. Before engaging, then, in another war with the English, the "redshank" host must be disposed of, as encumbering, and occasionally threatening, his course of action. He well knew that the Scots were hated and feared by the English as much as by himself, and that his resolution of attacking them would be hailed with unaffected pleasure by Elizabeth.

[1] The following is O'Donnell's own account of the tortures endured by him on that occasion, as recorded in a letter addressed to the Queen, and dated the 29th of October, 1561:—"And so I was in pryson, and bounde bothe hande and fowthe, and a grethe coler of yron sethe aboutt my neke, and a grethe chayen of yron faste to the same coler and to a pair of boltyes that was apon my legeys, so shorthe that I could nott stretche my legeys, nother rysse oupe ryght by no menes nyghtt nother day; and when he (Shane) perseveyed that I could nott be ondown (undone) after this maner, he thoght to tourmente me after an outher maner, to the intheuthe that he myght have all my jewelles, and so he cawsyd the yron to be strayned upon my legeys, and upon my handys so sore that the very bloud dyde ryne down on everye syde of myne yrons, insomoutche that I dyd wyshe after dethe a towsanthe tyemes."—See *Calendar of State Papers*, edited by Hans C. Hamilton, page xxvii. of Preface.

A leading and deeply cherished purpose of her Irish policy, as already stated, was the expulsion of the Scots from Ulster, a purpose of which she frequently reminded her servants in the Pale, and for the accomplishment of which, strenuous efforts, from time to time, had been employed. Although O'Neill, therefore, condescended to intimate his intention to the Council, he was well aware that he would have no opposition from that quarter. His letter to the Lord Justice and Council was written on the 18th of August, 1564, and four days after he received their reply, which conveyed their unqualified approval of his project.

His mode of attack was ably arranged, and vigorously carried into execution. He knew that if the Scots were to be crushed, the work must be done by one deadly blow. This mode of warfare has become quite popular in modern days, and is designated by the French phrase, *coup de main*. It is generally the conception of a single mind, and depends altogether for its success on the secrecy with which it is planned and carried out. The enemy must not have the slightest suspicion that there is anything particular contemplated, nor even the agents employed in its execution, until the latter are brought face to face with their victims, and told to strike. Had Shane made known his plan, or even his fixed purpose, in the autumn of 1564, no Scots would have left Ulster, as was usual on the approach of winter, but, on the contrary, additional forces would have been sent in from Scotland, The Islesmen and Highlanders made it a general rule, if possible, to sow their own barren patches of soil with barley, before setting out, in the month of May, on their annual summer excursion to the Antrim shores. Sorley *Boy* had a simple but expeditious method of telegraphing for assistance. On an emergency, a *warning fire* was lighted on Tor-Head, in the Glynns, and on the first flame leaping up from the cliff, friends at the other side of the Channel were bound to grasp their weapons and man their gallies with all speed. O'Neill was well acquainted with these arrangements; and he knew, also, that it was not only necessary that the Scots should be permitted to leave Antrim at their accustomed time, without any suspicion of his design, but that his object should be mainly, if not entirely, accomplished before reinforcements could be brought to aid Sorley *Boy*, in the spring. The winter passed without bringing any striking incidents, or warlike preparations of an unusual character, on the part of O'Neill. These were in active progress, however; and early in April, 1565, Shane had his plans matured, and his forces properly equipped to take the field. He resolved to assail the Scots in their strongest position, before James Mac Donnell could be summoned from Cantire to his brother's assistance. With what result this movement was attended we now proceed to relate.

The account preserved in the *Annals of Ireland*, by the *Four Masters*, is very brief, but, fortunately, records the name of the battle-field. The following is the entry under the year 1565, as translated by Dr. O'Donovan:—"A great defeat was given by O'Neill (John, the son of Con, son of Con, son of Henry) to the sons of Mac Donnell of Scotland, namely, James, Angus, and Sorley. Angus was slain, and James wounded and taken prisoner, and he died of the virulence of his wounds, at

the end of the year. The death of this gentleman was generally bewailed; he was a paragon of hospitality and prowess, a festive man of many troops, and a bountiful and munificent man. And his peer was not [to be found] at that time among the Clann Donnell in Ireland or in Scotland; and his own people would not have deemed it too much to give his weight in gold for his ransom, if he could have been ransomed. Many others not enumerated were slain in this defeat of *Gleanntaisi*."

This brief notice of so important an event is largely supplemented by several letters preserved among the *Irish Correspondence*, in the State Paper Office. One of these was written by O'Neill himself, the day of the battle, namely, on the second of May, 1565. The engagement commenced at five o'clock in the morning, and was decided before night. As soon as the prisoners were collected and safely lodged in *Boile Caislein* (Ballycastle), Shane, laying aside his bloody sword, took up his pen and wrote to the Lord Justice Arnold an account of his victory. We have obtained a full copy of his letter (never before published) from the State Paper Office. The following is a literal translation from the original Latin in which it was written:—

"To the Honourable the Lord Chief Justice,

"My humble respects premised,—It becomes my duty to inform your Lordship of my progress towards the North in the Queen's service, against the Scots, who are her Majesty's enemies and usurpers of her territory. In the first place, I took care to clear all the passes in the woods by which I could have access to Clann-aidh-boe (Clanaboy). I there rebuilt an old fort, and at that point the gentry of Clann-aidh-boe joined me with their followers. I proceeded thence towards the territories occupied by the Scots, and Somhairle Boy defended a certain pass, with the object of preventing my further progress. But by divine aid I gave them battle, in which many of his men were slain; the remnant fled; we took large spoils on that day, and at night we occupied the camp from which Somhairle had been expelled. Thence we advanced, the following day, through their valleys and protected routes until we came to the castle of James Mac Donnell, called *Uaim Aderig*,[j] which, with the town, we burned, and afterwards plundered all the adjoining district. On that night, James Mac Donnell, accompanied by his brothers and all their forces, arrived in Ireland. He entered the neighbouring harbour with a large fleet of galleys, and immediately afterwards, he and Somhairle united their Scottish and Irish forces, We advanced on the day following, without opposition, to the town of Somhairle, which is named Boile Caishlein[k] (Ballycastle), and remained

[j] In other words, he marched from Clough, through Glenballyemon, at the extremity of which, on the site now occupied by Cushindall, there were a town and castle built by, and belonging to, the Scots. The castle at *Red Bay* had been rebuilt four years previously by James Mac Donnell, on the foundations of an earlier structure erected by the Bissets.

[k] Boile-Caislein was the principal position occupied by Sorley Boy, previously to his obtaining possession of Dunluce. He rebuilt an old castle that had existed at the former place time immemorial, and his structure was known in the State Papers as "Nywe [New] Castle." It is to be observed, however, that whilst the English authorities so term it, O'Neill employs the old Irish name, *Boile-Caislean*.

there all night in camp, as there was no time to attack them that evening. Early on the next morning, we advanced upon them drawn up in battle-array, and the fight was furiously maintained on both sides. But God, best and greatest, of his mere grace, and for the good fortune of Her Majesty the Queen, gave us the victory against them. James and his brother Somhairle were taken prisoners, and a third brother, Angus, surnamed the 'Proud,' and John *Roe*,[1] were slain, together with two Scottish chiefs, namely, the son of Mac Leod, and the son of the lord of Carrick-Nasgrithe. A young chieftain of Isla was slain also, whose father was brother to James aforesaid. The sons of Alexander *Carrach* (James's brothers), and the son of Alexander *Gallta*, besides many of the Scottish Nobility were captured, and great numbers of their men killed, amounting in all to six or seven hundred. Few escaped who were not taken or slain. Glory be to God, such was the result of these my services undertaken for Her Majesty in the Northern parts. Nor here alone, but everywhere throughout Ireland, where my aid may be required, I am ready and prepared to make sacrifices for her Grace. Humbly requesting your Lordship to inform Her Majesty of all these affairs, I now bid you farewell.—From the town of Somhairle called Boile Caislein, 2nd May, 1565. Her Majesty's faithful servant and your obedient.

"By me, Son of ONELL."

The following letter, also published for the first time, was written in the month of June, 1565, by Gerot (Gerald) Flemynge, and contains a much more detailed and interesting account of Shane's movements during this celebrated expedition:—

"To the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Cusake, Knight,—

"After most hearty comendacions, and have bene comanded by my L. O'Neill to write to yor Worshipp all his doings and proceedings in this his last journey uppon the Skotts, which I here write unto you in such sorte that yor Worshipp may desserno every dais wourck by hitself. He kept his Easter at Fedan [the Feveagh, Co. Armagh], whence he tooke his jorney the Tuisday in the saide Ester wyck towards the Skotts, which day he rode xvi mile, and campid that night at Dromemoer [Dromore]. The next morning he cutt all the Passes or Woods that lay in his way from thence (callid Kyllwarline of the McCuilins and Kylultagh of Claneboye which were xii mile long), that x men may go in a ranck, till he came within Claneboye a mile beyond the Pase, and campid that night at

Sorley Boy's son, Randall, the first Earl of Antrim, built another and larger castle on the same site, in the year 1628, the last gable of which disappeared in 1853. It stood a little eastward of the church in Ballycastle; and was removed by order of the Court of Chancery, from a fear that its fall might sooner or later occasion loss of life.

[1] John *Roe* Mac Donnell was a distinguished captain of the Scottish army, and probably a first cousin to James. He married a daughter of the Baron of Dungannon, younger brother of Shane O'Neill. (Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 215.) This lady was sister to Hugh O'Neill, afterwards known as the great Earl of Tyrone, because of his long and formidable rebellion against the English. John *Roe* was not killed on the battle-field at Gleanntaisi; he made his escape into Glenshesk, but was overtaken and slain at a place which is named to this day *Slaught-Eoin-Ruaidh*, or "Slaughter of Red John."

Monynimrock; the morrow after being Thursday, he rood toward Gallantry[m] a mile from Edendukarig [now Shane's Castle] where he campid that night, in which place he buylded and renywied an old Fort, within which there was the situacôn of an house, about buylding whereof he was Friday, Saturday, and till Sonday at noone, and from thence (having left sertaine of his men in the saide Forte) he removid towards Cloghdonaghy[n] in the Roott, and entering into a Pase callid Knockboy [still so called] of a quarter of a mile long, the Skotts being redy before him unwares sett uppon him, where he killed of them to the number of xx, and the reste were faine to take the Boggs and Woods, and tooke their prais that afternoone. But that night he campid at Cloghdonaghy aforesaid. In the morning after being Monday he departed thence toward Owderick [the Uaimh-Aderig of O'Neill's letter] in the Gulines [Mac Quillin's] contrey, to James M[c]Conill is one [own] towne, which towne he won that same day. This day landid James himself with all his company in Ireland, after that O'Neill won the towne and saw that it stood in suche a place that it was out of his rech to helpe them of his men unto whome he thought to comitt the kyping thereof, of his one [own] men he brack it to the grounde rather than the Skotts should againe enjoy the same; he campid that night in the said towne, and on the morrowe being May day he removid thence to a place callid Nyw Castell [Baile Caislein] in the Root, Sanhirly Boy is towne, where that night he campid having his enymies withen a mile in sight camping before him.[o] On the morrowe after when he exhortid his men to be true to their prince, and of a good couradge, showing them what praise shoulde followe unto them if they overcame their enymies, and what service to their prince it should be, he gave toward the enymies and mett with them about v. of the clock in the morning, to whom he gave the overthrowe, and tooke of their baners and ancients xiii. tooke James M[c]Conill himself, being veray sore woundid; his brother Sanhirly boy, M[c]Lode is son his brother-in-lawe, and xix other Gents prisoners, and killid of the Skotts at that present tyme to the number of vii. hondreth that they can make a compt of. After which conflict O'Neill camped that night at Nyw Castell foresaid, wher the said James M[c]Conell being prisoner offrid O'Neill *all all (sic)* the goods, cattells, creatts, stoods and lands that he had in Ireland and Skotland and to sett himself at liberty,

[m] On an old Rental of the Shane's Castle estates, this name is written "Gallanagh als Glanellagh."

[n] Now Clough, County of Antrim. The parish is called Dunaghy, or more correctly, Dun-Eochaidh, from an earthen fort which stood near the village of Clough, and which Dr. O'Donovan supposes to be the *Dun-Eachdach* mentioned in the twenty-ninth verse of the *Circuit of Muircheartach*. In the grant to the Antrim family Clough is called *Clogh-Maghera-Donaghie*. The remains of an old castle, from which the Mac Donnells expelled the Mac Quillins, are still standing at a little distance northward from the village.

[o] The circumstance here mentioned proves that the battle took place in the glen between Ballycastle and Armoy, the Scots having retreated before O'Neill, and taken up a position about a mile distant from the first-mentioned town on the Coleraine side. Had they awaited the attack of O'Neill at any point in Glenshesk, (as is generally supposed,) the battle must have been fought on the preceding evening, since the Scots would have thus occupied Shane's direct line of march on Boile-Caislein. He met no interruption however, and encamped on the night of the 1st of May, at Boile-Caislein, the Scots being still in front.

affirming by othe that he would never seeke to reveng the same, whose answer was that the service he went about was not his but the princes, and that it lay not in himself to do nothing but according to her direction. In the morning after he removid thence and came to Downesterick[p] and Dowenelisse (Dunluce), in the Rott being v. mile assonder which were Sanhirly boy is chiefe castells and the chiefe defence and holt of all those parties, of the which he wan the same day Downsterick, wherein he lefte sertaine of his men to deffend it agaynst the enymie. But the other he could not wyn in the space of thry days after till at laste partely through fear of Sanhirly Boy is dethe who was kept without meat or drinck to the end the castell might be the rather yelded, and partely for saulfgard of their owne liffis seing the manifold and cruell skermishis and assaults on every, *(sic)* the ward were faine to yeld the castell in to his hands, which also he comitted to the saulf kyping of such of his men as were most hable to defend the same, and mooste tryue to him, and having thus won the said castells, kyllid and banyshid all the Skotts out of the North, he retornid back againe to the first fort callid Gallantry in Claneboye, whence he sent James M[c]Conill being sore woundid and other of the prisoners to castell Corck,[q] a towne of his one in Tyron, and kept Sanhirly boy with himself. The night after this conflict, James M[c]Conill is brother Alexander tooke shiping in Skotland with ix hondreth men and thinking to com help his brother landed at a place called Raghline an iland in the sea within ii mile of Ireland. But when he had wourd of his brother is miscarieng, retornid back againe. These my L. and M[r] is doings I have writine to your wourshipp in every thing as he comanndid me, adding neither diminishing nothing, but according to his one wourds and doings who mad me swer before your Wourshipp is servant, that I should advertise you nothing but truthe nor write nothing in this letter but that he comanndid me. And after this letter redd and declarid unto him self, understanding the same to be to his one mynd in everything and according to his comanndment, his L. comanndid me to be the berer meself to yo[r] Wourshipp of the same with your man to veryfye and affirme by booke othe before you all the contents of this letter to be true, which I have don accordingly

"By my [me] GEROT FLEMYNGE."[r]

[p] *Downesterick*, probably Deffrick, near the present town of Dervock. In an old rental of the Antrim estates this name is written *Castlenderick*. Small portions of the ruins still remain. The mound on which the castle stood, when entire, is about ninety feet in diameter. There was a deep well in the centre, and a vast cave which stretched under the outer wall of the castle all around.

[q] Generally written Corock, at least in more modern times. This castle and town stood in Upper Badoney, near Strabane. The castle, we believe, has entirely disappeared; but the ruins of a monastery, built in the fifteenth century, for Franciscan friars, still exist. At the suppression, this property was granted to Sir Hen. Piers, who in turn disposed of it to Sir Arthur Chichester. See *Seward's Topographia Hibernica*, 4to, 1735.

[r] Gerald Fleming was descended from Richard le Fleming, to whom Sir Hugh de Lacy granted the lands of Slane and Newcastle, in the lordship of Meath, about the year 1176. From this date until 1728, twenty-two barons enjoyed the family property, and generally took a prominent place among the Irish nobility. William, nineteenth Lord Slane, married Lady Anne Mac Donnell, daughter of Randall, first Earl of Antrim. The last Lord Slane was Christopher Fleming, who sat in James II.'s notorious par-

Gleanntaisi, the scene of this celebrated and decisive battle, was the lowest or most northern of the Antrim Glens, situated in the parish of Ramoan, and extending along the western base of Knocklayde, from Ballycastle to Armoy. In former days this glen was the direct route between Rathmugia, the chief town of Dalriada, and the coast. Judging from certain remains, of a very striking character, which occur at intervals, along its whole length, we are disposed to conclude that, at some remote period, it must have been the scene of important events. It still contains magnificent remnants of the earthen dun, the stone fort, the monumental pillar, and the sepulchral mound; whilst at the upper end, near the present village of Armoy, stands a portion of one of those "Round Towers of other days" which still preserve the mystery of their origin in despite of able and learned efforts put forth, from time to time, to reveal it. A troop of antiquaries once surrounded this particular Tower, and dug into its foundations; but only found, for their reward, one solitary human skull, with a portion of the neck-bone attached.[s] About a mile above the town of Ballycastle, the vale becomes charmingly picturesque, exhibiting that varied beauty of landscape which one might almost venture to affirm is peculiar to the Antrim Glens. "Spurs" stretch out from the base of the mountain, clothed with natural forest. The stream in the centre of the glen moves noiselessly on, now winding around wooded heights, and anon concealing itself among long stretches of meadow-land. The lover of nature gazes on this quiet stream and its surrounding scenery with unfeigned delight. The overhanging slopes are covered with well cultivated fields, which seem to have been fashioned by time and chance, rather than by the direct agency of human hands, into every imaginable variety of shape. The homesteads to which these fields belong are in perfect keeping, old fashioned, badly planned, if you will, but yet possessing an air of decent comfort and even dignity, which your modern well-built farm-houses frequently fail to inspire. From the porches of many of these quiet habitations the view is wonderfully grand and impressive, taking in, as it does, not only the attractive features of the coast immediately below, but the island of Rathlin, the promontory of Fairhead, the whole expanse of the Channel, and, in clear weather, the opposite shores of Scotland, together with the outlines of the principal Hebridean Isles.

Strange enough, however, this beautiful vale has no general name by which it is known in modern times. The other Glens of Antrim have their well-known and distinctive titles, whilst this one, whose natural beauty and historical associations are so attractive, cannot be spoken of by any name with which the people of the present time are familiar. Every one has heard of Glenarm,

liament of 1687, and otherwise bore himself as an active partisan of that king. For this he was outlawed and deprived of his estates. He afterwards obtained a pension of £500 per annum, and died in 1728. The representatives of the Slane family at the present time are Lord Dunsany and the Bryans, of Jenkinstown, County Kilkenny.

[s] See the late Edmund Getty's Account of the *Round Towers*, in preceding volumes of this *Journal*.

Glenariff, Glendun, and Glenshesk.[t] They are generally, if not always, named after the streams that flow through them to the sea; and, proceeding on this principle of nomenclature, our northern glen must be called *Glentow*, from the river *Tow* which runs down it and enters the sea near the bridge at Bun-na-Mairge. Glentow would be evidently the Anglicised form of *Gleanntaisi*,[u] an interpretation which is strengthened, or rather indeed established, by the fact (mentioned in the State Papers already quoted) that O'Neill encamped in *Boile Caislein* (Ballycastle) on the night before, and also on the night subsequent to the battle.

The above letters sufficiently corroborate the principal statements in the brief narrative of the *Four Masters*, presenting, at the same time, certain additional and very interesting details, in connexion with O'Neill's campaign against the Scots. The success of that movement evidently resulted from the despatch with which it was conducted. The Mac Donnells were undoubtedly taken by surprise, as James was compelled to leave Cantire before having had time to collect sufficient forces for the emergency. He had made arrangements, however, for the coming of additional troops; and had O'Neill been but one day later in reaching Ballycastle, nine hundred men, under the command of Alexander Mac Donnell (the second brother, who was steward of Cantire), would have swelled the Scottish host, and most probably changed the fortunes of the day. This auxiliary force had got the length of Rathlin, and would have landed at Ballycastle, on the night of the 2nd of May, had its leader not heard that all was already lost. What a disastrous night was that for the proud, and hitherto prosperous Lord of the Isles! Sorely wounded and utterly helpless in the hands of his merciless captor, he could yet behold the shores of his own Cantire which he was never to visit again. During the course of that night in Ballycastle, he is reported, in Fleming's letter, to have made certain proposals to O'Neill for his ransom, which, if truly stated, prove that he regarded his own case as all but, if not absolutely, hopeless. When these offers were declined, on what Mac Donnell knew to be the flimsiest pretence, the brave Scot doubtless made up his mind that there was to be no release for him until death should set him free. The *Four Masters* affirm that his own people would gladly have given his weight in gold for his ransom, *if he could have been ransomed*—a form of expression which shows at once how much he was beloved, and how decidedly O'Neill was bent upon his destruction. Other and more powerful influences were brought to bear upon Shane with the view of obtaining James Mac Donnell's release, but in vain. The Earl of Argyle wrote expressely upon this subject to O'Neill, in the name of the leading magnates in Argyleshire and the Isles, and by the command of Mary, Queen of Scots. To this important letter, Shane appears to have returned an evasive answer, leading the Scottish Queen

[t] Besides those above mentioned, there are Glencloy, Glencorp, Glenaan, and Glenballyemon, in all eight Glens, bearing distinct local names. There must have been a *ninth* at one period, since any prevailing rumor is still spoken of by the inhabitants of the Antrim coast as being "heard over the *nine* Glens."

[u] O'Flaherty (preface to the *Ogygia Vindicated*) writes the name *Gleanntaoise*, which shows that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it had assumed nearly its present form.

to believe that Mac Donnell was, or would soon be set free,[v] but continuing to hold his prisoner fast, notwithstanding. In referring to this letter from Scotland, Shane afterwards, when writing to Elizabeth, informed her that his reply was to the effect that he could not venture to release the Scots, until his *own Queen's* mind (meaning Elizabeth's) was made known on the subject.[w] He was not long kept in suspense regarding this matter, for, on the twenty-second of June, the Privy Council forwarded instructions to Lord Justice Arnold, requiring him to take means, without delay, for the recovery of James and Sorley *Boy* Mac Donnell from their captivity.[x] Elizabeth was anxious to have them in her own power, but was too politic to wish for their destruction, so long, at least, as Shane himself required to be kept in check. We know not whether Arnold made any effort to carry out his instructions in this affair, but O'Neill certainly never entertained the most distant idea of permitting James Mac Donnell to leave his dungeon alive. He regarded him in the light of a great rival in Ulster, who was to be feared in proportion to his popularity, and who could never be cajoled, or compelled to adopt Shane's policy, or to assist in carrying out his plans for the extirpation of the English. But while these various negotiations were going on for his liberation, the Scottish chieftain died at Castle-Corck, in Tyrone, most probably of neglect, or positive cruelty, inflicted upon him in his dungeon. There is no direct evidence, so far as we know, to this effect, but the Scots afterwards charged O'Neill with being the murderer of their chief; and, if we may infer anything from Shane's general character, or from the manner in which O'Donnell, a former rival and captive, had been treated, there is certainly strong reason to suspect that the last days of the Lord of the Isles were bitter indeed. At all events, Shane announced his death to the Privy Council in a letter dated 25th August,[y] but probably the event had occurred several days previously. James Mac Donnell's fate was deplored not only by his own people in Antrim and Argyle, but by the Irish and Scotch nations generally. It was no faint praise accorded to his character and position by the *Four Masters*, when they described him as "a paragon of hospitality and prowess, a festive man of many troops, a bountiful and munificent man." We are not surprised to be told by the same authority that he had no peer or equal throughout the whole Clann Donnell,—a tribute which implies even more than is expressed, and was rarely, if ever, accorded even to Irish contemporary chieftains.[z] With his fall came a

[v] This reply was sent to the Scottish Court by the notorious Terence Danyell, Dean of Armagh, who was a kinsman of the Donnilaughs, O'Neill's foster-brothers.

[w] See Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 268.

[x] *Ibid*, p. 263. Arnold was desired to send a special man to O'Neill to treat with him for the recovery of the two Scottish leaders.

[y] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 270.

[z] Sir Hen. Sidney lived and died under the impression that he had slain James Mac Donnell with his own hand, at Carrickfergus, in the year 1556. In his Memoir of his government of Ireland, published in this *Journal*, he refers to this imaginary feat as follows:—"In the first jorney which the Earl of Sussex made, which was a great, and a long, and an honourable one, against James Mac Connell, a mightie Captain of Scotts, whom the Earl of Sussex, after a great feight made with him, defeyted and chased him, with slaughter of a great number of his best men; I there fought and killed him with my own hand, who thought to have overmatched me. Some more blood I drew, though

disastrous eclipse in the affairs of the Ulster Scots, which only the genius and courage of Sorley *Boy* were afterwards equal to remove. Not only had they lost their castles and fortified positions, but such of their leaders as had not fallen were immured in O'Neill's dungeons, or compelled to seek safety in flight. These results are announced by Shane in the letter that speaks of Mac Donnell's death. The seven hundred Scots mentioned in his first letter as the amount of slain, afterwards increased to the number of eight hundred, and the whole account is wound up by the statement, which he knew would be so welcome in England, that all the Scots were expelled from the Ulster coasts, and their towns and castles placed in the Queen's possession.

Such was the immediate result of the battle of Gleanntaisi. It was soon followed by others equally fatal to O'Neill himself, and as evidently arising from that memorable conflict. The Scots had been defeated but not crushed. In the lull that ensued, the Mac Donnells recruited their strength, and eagerly waited their opportunity. They had not long to wait. Their mortal enemy, Shane, believing himself now free from their rivalry, began forthwith to prepare for a renewal of the struggle with the English. The spring of 1566 saw him in princely state and full rebel trim once more. He was now especially unfortunate in having for a companion the wife of O'Donnell, who had connived at the capture and subsequent cruel treatment of her lawful husband, and whose evil counsels probably hastened the ruin of her paramour. This woman's maiden name was Mac Lean, whilst she dwelt in her native Hebrides among her own people. She became the second wife of the fourth Earl of Argyle, and afterwards, the second wife of Calvagh O'Donnell, retaining the title of Countess Dowager of Argyle.[a] Her connexion with the clans of Mac Lean and Campbell

I cannot bragg that I lost any." As this was written in 1582-3, it is not easy to imagine how it happened that Sir Henry could have cherished the preposterous delusion for such a length of time. He may have killed some Scot named James Mac Donnell, but he was egregiously mistaken in supposing that he had slain the great captain of the Clandonnell.

[a] The Macleans or Mac GillaEoins were descended from Ferchar Abradhruaidh, and through him from Loarn, the first king of the Dalriadic Scots in North Britain.—(*Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 138.) Catherine Maclean, who thus became so unfortunately notorious in Ulster, was a member of the house of Donart, the leading family of the clan. She was the fifth daughter of Hector *Mor* Maclean. Her mother was Mary, daughter of Alexander *Carrach* Mac Donnell, known in Scotland as Alexander Mac Ian-Cathanaich Mac Donnell, of Isla and the Glynnes. She was therefore niece to James, Sorley *Boy*, and the other sons of Alexander *Carrach*. The "Seanachie," who has compiled *An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Clan Maclean*, errs in supposing that O'Donnell's wife, who thus deserted her husband, was *Julia, the third daughter* of Hector *Mor*. All dispute on this point has been set at rest since the publication of the *Calendar of State Papers*, edited by Hans C. Hamilton, Esq. Throughout these papers the lady is known as *Countess of Argyle*, (pp. 159, 170, 172, 217, 237,) and it was *Catherine*, the fifth daughter, who became, as already stated, the second wife of Argyle. Her grandfather was the infamous *Lachlan Cattanach* Maclean, who succeeded to the headship of the clan in 1513, and who attempted the murder of his wife, the Lady Elizabeth Campbell, by exposing her on a solitary rock in the sea, (only visible at low-tide,) about two miles eastward from Donart Castle. This event has been made the subject of Miss Baillie's *Family Legend*, and Campbell's Poem entitled *Glenara*. The castle and lands of the Mac Leans, of Mull, were granted originally, in the year 1390, to Lachlan Maegillcon (Mac Lean), by Donald, Lord of the Isles. Hector *Mor* came into possession of the property, in the year 1527, by a direct grant from James V., of

enabled her to obtain, when necessary, large numbers of Scottish mercenaries; and, on coming to Donegal after her second marriage, she was accompanied by no fewer than 2000 of her countrymen, of whom Shane O'Neill instantly engaged 1500, for service against the English. She was regarded as a resolute and highly cultivated woman, who approved of O'Neill's rebellious courses, and was able to influence and assist him therein. At the time of Shane's treacherous capture of her husband, Fitzwilliam wrote to inform Cecil of the affair, adding that it was generally believed the outrage had been committed with her consent. In the same letter, the writer stated that "she is counted very sober, wyse, and no lesse sotell, beying not unlernyd in the Latyn tong, speekyth good French, and as is sayd, som lytell Italyone." The articles of peace which had been agreed to between the Queen and O'Neill in 1563, bound the latter to abide by the arbitration of the Earls of Ormond, Kildare, Thomond, and Clanrickard, as to whether Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife were held as lawful prisoners. The decision was in the negative, and thus secured the release of the Tirconnell chieftain, but his lady chose to remain with O'Neill, after her husband's departure. For a time, it was believed by her Scottish kinsfolk that she was detained against her consent, and the Deputy Sussex, in referring to the affair, when writing to the Queen, stated that "Thre of the Mac Illanes, kynsmen to the counties of Orgyle," had proffered great services to O'Neill for her release; but a little time showed that their proffered services were not wanted by the lady. She continued to live with Shane to his last moment, and must have exercised a disastrous influence in his councils.

Con O'Donnell, the son of Calvagh (by his first wife), and brother of Mary, burned to avenge the fate of his murdered sister, and the cruel indignities perpetrated against his father. He is described by Sussex as wise, valiant, civil, true, and "the lykliest plante in Ulster to graffe a good subject on." Con instantly declared for the English and against O'Neill, on the rebellion of the latter, in 1566, and the combination was such as that audacious tyrant, single-handed, was unable to resist. In his extremity he turned for help to the Scots. Sorley *Boy* was still his prisoner, and permitted to live only that he might be used, when necessary, as a means of restoring amicable relations with his people. When O'Neill determined to renew the contest with the English, there is reason to believe that he admitted Sorley *Boy* into his confidence, and that the latter readily and naturally availed himself of his captor's difficulties to effect his own deliverance. Alexander Mac Donnell had arrived, according to an arrangement with Sir Henry Sydney, to take part in the struggle against O'Neill, and with him the latter determined to open a negotiation through Sorley *Boy*. Reckless as Shane notoriously was in all his ways, it is astounding that he could so far delude

Scotland. The castle of *Dowart* or *Douart*, stood at the extremity of a long headland on the Sound of Mull. The ruins of this once powerful fortress consist at present of a large quadrangular tower, said to be of Danish origin, with walls varying from twelve to fourteen feet in thickness, together with some more modern buildings, forming, with the tower and a high wall on the south, a quadrangle of about a hundred and twenty feet by eighty. Fordun and other chroniclers name the place *Dundoward*.—See *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii., p. 313.

himself as to suppose that the Scots had forgotten the catastrophe of Gleanntaisi, or that they were prepared to renounce the advantageous offer of an English alliance, from the mere motive of assisting to preserve *him* who had been their most ruthless destroyer. No wonder that the Irish Annalists speak of his infatuation, in thus commiting himself to the Scots, as "an omen of the destruction of life, and the cause of his death." We are strongly of opinion that Sorley *Boy* concocted the whole plot for his destruction, and brought it at last to the consummation so ardently wished for by the Mac Donnells. Other parties at the time, (among them, Sir Henry Sydney and Captain William Piers,)[b] claimed the credit of finally disposing of O'Neill, and by turns had their claims allowed. After a careful review, however, of all the circumstances known in connexion with his death, we are very much disposed to trace that event mainly to the agency of Sorley *Boy*. There must have been an understanding between him and his brother, Alexander Mac Donnell, else it is not at all probable that the latter would have listened to any proposals whatever from O'Neill, under the circumstances. On the contrary, Alexander had declared war to the knife against O'Neill, and one of his first acts, on coming into Ulster, was to invade Clanneboy, a territory owned by one of Shane's steadiest allies. When returning into the Glynns, with a vast prey, consisting of twelve hundred kine, besides many sheep, swine, and horses, Alexander halted at Carrickfergus for a day and night, and distinctly announced to the governor that he had come to serve the Queen, against O'Neill.

With these views, and under the circumstances now mentioned, Alexander Mac Donnell received an invitation from O'Neill to meet him, on friendly terms, for the purpose of forming a permanent alliance against the Sassanagh, their common enemy; and, as this invitation was forwarded, and, no doubt, *explained* as to its true import by Sorley *Boy*, it was very gladly accepted by the Scots. The place appointed for this meeting was in the territory of the Glynns, at a short distance from the present village of Cushendun.[c] Thither went O'Neill, accompanied by the Countess of Argyle, his secretary, Sorley *Boy*, and a small troop consisting only of fifty horsemen. A sumptuous banquet was prepared to inaugurate the re-union of the O'Neills and Mac Donnells, and for the space of two days unanimity prevailed at the board. Suddenly, one of the Mac Donnells, Gillaspick by name, turning to O'Neill's secretary, charged him with originating the report respecting a marriage, said to be in contemplation between O'Neill and James Mac Donnell's widow—a

[b] Piers was a Yorkshire man. He was said to have established a claim to Queen Elizabeth's consideration by saving her, on one occasion, from the resentment of her sister, Mary. He came to Ireland about the year 1556, and obtained liberal grants of land from the crown. In 1568 he became Governor of Carrickfergus, having been previously Constable of the Castle. He died at Carrickfergus, in 1603, leaving two sons, Henry and William. In 1577 the former was Mayor of Carrickfergus. McSkimmin states that descendants of this family still reside in the neighbourhood of Lisburn.

[c] On the hill overlooking Cushindun Bay there are still traces of the building in which this memorable meeting took place. In Norden's map prefixed to the *State Papers*, vol. ii., the townland is called *Bally Teraine* (now Ballyteerim), and it is added, "*Here Shane O'Neale was slayne.*"

report which the Scots affected to regard as a scandalous libel on the lady of their late lamented chief. The secretary,[d] instead of attempting to avert the kindling wrath by a soft answer, began to taunt the Mac Donnells as not worthy of the honour they seemed so anxious to repudiate. He reminded them that O'Neill was hereditary Prince of Ulster, and by ancient lineage, as well as exalted position, entitled to match with their Queen, Mary of Scotland. At this point in the dispute, O'Neill himself stood prominently forward, and, doubtless, told them his mind pretty plainly on the subject which had so roused their indignation. It is not improbable that he may have even accompanied his words by a blow, aimed at the audacious Gillaspick. Where now was Sorley *Boy*, or how did he act? He certainly did not interpose for the re-establishment of peace. Had he made the slightest movement for this purpose, his kinsmen would have instantly held back, for with them Sorley's authority was paramount. On the contrary, it was probably some significant look or word from him that finally sealed Shane's fate, and brought upon him, in quick succession, the blows of the Scottish "slaughter-knives." O'Neill was literally hewn to pieces, and his mutilated remains flung into a pit near the place of his assassination. Thus perished one of the bravest and most powerful of the Hy-Niall Princes. Like others, placed in a similar prominent position, his character and actions have been variously estimated. The Irish Annalists ransacked their legendary history for parallels which might appear in the eyes of the native population sufficiently complimentary to their valiant leader against the English. They spoke of him as a *Conchobar* "in prowess and provincial dignity," a comparison which proves how very popular he must have been, for Conchobar Mac Nessa, King of Ulster, had been one of the most renowned of the Rudhrician or Red-Branch princes. They described Shane, moreover, as a second Lughaidh Long Hand—the said Lughaidh having been, in his generation, a most valiant and successful leader of the Tuatha De Danaan.[e] His enemies formed a very different idea of his career,

[d] The name of this personage has been given occasionally as *Neale Mac Connor*, but on what authority we are not aware. In 1564, O'Neill's secretary was Eugene O'Hagan. A memorandum drawn up at *Fedan*, in reference to Shane's last oath to observe the terms of the peace, is preserved in the State Paper Office. Many Irish signatures are affixed to this document, and, among them, his secretary signed thus: "*Per me Eugenium o hagan secretarium domini Iueill.*" The Donnillaughs and O'Hagans were Shane's most attached and unscrupulous adherents. The O'Hagans possessed a large territory around Tulloghoge, in the parish of Desertcreight, near Dungannon, and their family had the honour of furnishing *hereditary brehons* at the inauguration of the O'Neills, as kings of Ulster.

[e] The Court of Conchobar Mac Nessa is frequently represented in ancient Irish historical pieces as one of the most brilliant of which our northern province could ever boast. The comparing of O'Neill therefore to Conchobar, in the matter of duly upholding the provincial dignity of Ulster, was significant, and implied a high degree of princely state on the part of the former. The fact of his being spoken of as their Lughaidh, the *Long-handed*, was even more complimentary, as that hero had performed a most signal act for the deliverance of their forefathers from the galling oppression of the Fomorians. In the very old historical tract entitled *Oidhe Chlainne Tuirinn* "The Fate of the Sons of Tuirinn," this brave leader figures prominently in discharging the duties of his high mission, as the following extract will show:—

"This king (Nuadh of the Silver Hand) was thus situated; the race of the Fomorians imposed a very heavy tribute upon the Tuatha de Danans in his reign. A tax was levied

and spoke of him exactly as they felt. He had been a formidable and withal expensive opponent. It is estimated that his rebellion cost them upwards of £147,000, exclusive of the many taxes laid upon the country, during the war against him. No fewer than 3500 regular troops were slain in the several encounters with O'Neill and his adherents, besides many natives and Scots who, under more favourable circumstances, would have been ranked among the most useful of the Queen's subjects.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, when announcing Shane's death to Cecil, stated that the Scots "cut and hewed him as is sayde extreamlye." The Deputy goes on to moralise after this fashion:—"This rebel's end was on Monday, towards night, the second of June, an end hard enough, but not sufficient for his desert. If God's will had so been, I would he might have been taken, to the end he might in other sort have received his just desert, and that he might have told, as is said he did report he would, so much as should have gained the Queen's Majesty more land than Tyrone was worth."[f] Thus, the worthy Deputy was clearly of opinion, that Shane's exit could have been much better brought about had Providence not interfered in the matter until after the council in Dublin could have extracted the important information from the rebel chief which he was supposed to have possessed, or, failing that, until the authorities could have had the gratification of hanging and quartering such an awfully obstinate traitor. As it was, however, Shane contrived to disturb his enemies dreadfully during his life, and to disappoint them miserably even in his death!

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upon the growing crops, and an *unga* (ingot) of gold was exacted upon the nose of every one of the Tuatha De Danans each year from Uisneach to Tara eastward. This tax was to be paid every year; and whosoever was found unable to pay it, *his nose was severed from his face*. On a certain day, the chief king of Ireland held a meeting on the hill of Balar, which is now called Uisneach of Meath. They had not been long assembled there when they discovered a well-appointed host of people approaching them along the plain from the east, and a young man whose countenance shone like the rising sun, marched at the head of the dense crowd of men. It was impossible to look at him in the face, he was so lovely, and he was no other than Lughaidh Lamhfhada, "long-handed," the sword-exerciser. They had remained but a short time there, when they saw an ugly ill-shaped party of people, namely nine times nine men, who were the stewards of the Fomorians, coming to receive the rents and taxes of the people of Ireland. And Lughaidh arose, and having unsheathed the *Fiorgcarthach*, the sword of Manannan, attacked them, and having cut and mangled them, killed eight times nine men of their number, but suffered the remaining nine to put themselves under the protection of the King of Ireland. 'I would kill you,' said Lughaidh, 'were it not that I prefer that you should carry the tidings to the foreigners, rather than send my own messengers, lest they might be dishonoured.' The nine men then marched forward to Eas Dara, where they embarked and sailed to the race of the Fomorians in Lochlan, to whom they related the whole matter from the beginning to the end. 'Can any person among you tell who that individual is,' said Balar. 'I can tell,' replied Ceithlinn; 'he is a son of your and my daughter; and it has been foretold to me that, whenever he shall come into Ireland, we shall possess no more power in Ireland from that day out forever.' Thus it appears that Lughaidh Lond-hand was a Fomorian or Northman by the mother's side, although he delivered the Tuatha De Danaans from their yoke."—See *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. ii., pp. 24, 25.

[f] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 32 and 33, of Preface.

# THE FRENCH SETTLERS IN IRELAND—No. 9.

## BELFAST.

Few of the present inhabitants of Belfast are aware that there are still amongst them the descendants of French refugees, who settled here, as in other parts of Ireland, in consequence of religious persecutions. The town, which was afterwards to become the prosperous capital of Ulster, exhibited a very different appearance at the time of their arrival from its present one. Thick woods encompassed it on every side; the extensive garden and orchard of the Castle are described, by an English tourist of the time, as reaching down to the Lagan, which was then a wide river; while the Castle itself (of which we know nothing but the site) is mentioned as "a dainty and stately palace, the beauty and glory of the town." A narrow stream flowed down the principal thoroughfare (now High Street), planted at each side with trees, and crossed at intervals by several bridges. The town was regularly fortified and surrounded by a deep fosse. No busy sound of manufacturing industry filled the air; nor was there seen the crowded traffic of populous thoroughfares, nor the shipping of a flourishing port. No factories with their tall chimneys poured forth volumes of smoke into the atmosphere, nor polluted the pure stream with their refuse. Indeed there was nothing to indicate that, after the lapse of two centuries, this third or fourth rate town would reach its present size and eminence. Nevertheless, Belfast had even then mercantile importance sufficient to attract the attention of strangers, and, amongst others, a number of French emigrants were induced to settle here. These may be described as the pioneers of the refugees who afterwards became citizens of the place. One of these bore the well-known name of *Le Byrtt*,[a] descended from the brave ancestor who obtained great renown in the French wars of Henry V. of England, by slaying in single combat, the celebrated warrior, De Penicè, and contributing greatly by his gallant conduct to the defeat of the enemy; and who, as the old chronicle says, "so did the King great service" that he was allowed to adopt the coat of arms of his opponent along with his own, and the motto "Loyal au Mort." Another of the early settlers was the descendant of the private secretary of Mary Queen of Scots, and whose heroic sister, Mary *Curl*, remained with her royal mistress during all her trials, and was her attendant even when she suffered on the scaffold; her conduct and demeanour being in perfect accordance with the motto of her family, "Un Dieu, un Roi, une Foi."[b]

[a] *Le Byrtt.*—The last descendant of this family, which formerly gave, more than once, a chief magistrate to the town, was the late Surgeon W. Byrt, who died in Belfast, after an honourable career as military surgeon. This estimable citizen was a large contributor, by will, to the endowment of Christ's Church, where a monument to his memory exists.

[b] The present John Currell, Esq., of Belfast, is the descendant of Queen Mary's Secretary.

It may be also mentioned, in connection with the refugees, that Belfast afforded the last resting-place for the remains of the Chevalier *De Champagné*, a French officer in King William's army, and for those of a *Balquière*. One of the honoured founders of our Belfast Charitable Society was a *Gillan:* and there also settled here a *Gaussen* of the same family that gave to Saumur a professor, and in after times to Geneva another theological teacher of high repute.[c] It was here, likewise, that *De Lolme* sought employment at one period of his eventful career. The parish church received as its vicar James *Saurin*,[d] nephew of the most celebrated preacher of his day. Here is the grave of a descendant of the noble *Chartrès*[e] family: his brave ancestor came over to this country with King William III., in whose service he held the rank of colonel. Here too lived and died a descendant of King Henry the 4th of France.[f] Near Belfast resided a lineal descendant of the Count of Thoulouse, whose ancestor escaped from France before the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew," but who assumed the name of *Dolling*, from a village on his brother's property.[g] The Belfast Academy at one time had, as its English Master, the son of a Huguenot settler, named *Goyer*, who was an excellent teacher of the language. A distinguished surgeon of Belfast, named *Forcade*, who died about twenty-five years

[c] *Gaussen.*—The present family of Gaussen resident in the County of Derry, some collateral branches of which also reside in Belfast, trace their descent from this source. Pierre Gaussen, nephew of one of the brothers who came to England, became a Governor of the Bank of England, and a Director of the Hon. East India Company. His high position did not alter the benevolence of his character, as he became one of the directors of the Hospital of Refugees in 1779, and consented to act as its treasurer. The same kindly disposition is perpetuated among the descendants of the brother who settled in Belfast.

[d] For an account of the family of Saurin, see the paper on the Lisburn Huguenot Settlement, in this *Journal.*

In connexion with the settlement of certain of the Huguenot refugees as religious teachers among the people of this kingdom, the following rather humorous and characteristic anecdote, from the Belfast News Letter of the year 1788, may be not inappropriately introduced:—

"Some time since a Rev. French Huguenot, having been presented to a living in a remote part of Ireland, chose to officiate without the assistance of a curate; and, as his accent and the idioms of his language rendered him scarcely understood, his audience did not restrain their complaints, but brought them before the bishop, who appointed a day for hearing both parties in the presence of each other. The Huguenot, having received an account of their remonstrance to the bishop, took the first opportunity of inviting his discontented parishioners to 'deene with him on rost-beuf and ploom pudang,' which invitation they readily accepted, and largely and heartily did they partake of the fare provided by their venerable pastor. On the day of hearing, the complainants set forth their allegations of his unintelligibility; to which the Huguenot replied:—'My Lord, my parishioners say, when I read the Liturgy, and from the pulpit exhort them to amendment of life, that they cannot comprehend my meaning; but, my Lord, to put the matter to a test, I asked them to dine with me on *rost-beuf and ploom-pudang*: this they chose very well to understand, and really performed their parts to admiration; which is a demonstrative proof how groundless are their complaints.'"

[e] *Chartrès.*—The descendants of this family exhibit as their crest the *fleur de lis.*

[f] Documents which go far to vindicate for the late Dr. Purdon, well known in Belfast as an eminent medical practitioner, the pedigree here referred to, are still in the possession of his family, but too long to admit of insertion here. The line is traceable through an immediate descendant of the royal line of France, the Viscount de Lavalle, who was among the Huguenot settlers in Portarlington, of the sixteenth century. Traditions also to the same effect still exist in various branches of the family.—Edit.

[g] Dolling was the younger brother of Count Dolling, of the village of Dolling, near Toulouse; but, having embraced Huguenot doctrines, he was obliged to fly to England about the time of the "massacre of Saint Bartholomew." The family chateau was of such magnitude and solidity, that it resisted the ravages of time until the commencement of the present century. The motto of the family, "Spero," was all that remained to the unfortunate emigrant.

ago, was the son of a Huguenot merchant; and the descendants of a French clergyman, named *Sueter*, are known to have lived in this town.

These few names of French settlers are the only ones we have been able to trace with certainty; and we have descendants of all of them among us still. Other French names are met with in the Belfast parish registers of the period, viz.:—

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bruet, | Juret, | Pimblet, | Luney, | Guest, | Godsell | Mallard, |
| Culbert, | Lisle, | Prynault, | D'Alton, | Floyer, | Cuney, | Bey, |
| Dumay, | Luney, | Pettigrew, | Ayres, | Latimer, | Morrin, | Jamphrey, |
| Delap, | Nipe, | Sandal. | Lackney, | Hugart, | Delap, | Cately? |

But, besides the descendants of Huguenots, many other inhabitants of Belfast are of French or Norman extraction. Some of these came over from Scotland or England at a very early period, while others immigrated much more recently. Subjoined are some of the names of the former class.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Charters, | La Mont, | Montgomery, | Joy, |
| Dunville,[h] | Suffern (Souverain), | Sinclair (St. Clair), | Lesqueir, |
| Weir (De Vere), | Tomb, | Telfair (Taille-fer) | Mereci. |

Of the more recent class may be mentioned *Bourdot*, the well-known name of a hair-dresser in Belfast forty years ago. His father landed in Ireland with General Thurot, at his unsuccessful attack on Carrickfergus; and, with a number of other men who were taken prisoners, preferred remaining here to returning home after their release. We trace to a French origin the family of *Pottinger*, recently distinguished by the eminent services, in the East, of the late Sir Henry Pottinger, as well of his brother Eldred. Another brother, Colonel W. Pottinger, still survives. Thomas Pottinger was the first "Sovereign" of Belfast; and his son Thomas was High Sheriff of the County Antrim at the time of King William's arrival, and is recorded to have raised the county in his favour, to have sold his own plate, and to have induced others to do the same, in order to aid the army of that monarch. The brother of the High-Sheriff, Captain Edward Pottinger, conveyed King William to Carrickfergus in his frigate, the Dartmouth. It was the same intrepid captain, in his vessel of 280 tons, and accompanied by another ship of war, who convoyed the merchantmen who broke the boom at the Siege of Derry. This gallant man and his vessel were shortly after lost by shipwreck off the Isle of Mull, while on the look-out for some French vessels which were expected with supplies for King James's army. From these ancestors the present Pottinger family is descended. The name is still preserved as the appellation of two localities in Belfast and the vicinity,—"Pottinger's Entry" in High Street, and "Mount Pottinger" in the suburb of Ballymacarrett.

C. D. PURDON.

[h] *Dunville.*—The head of this family came from Normandy with William the Conqueror. Tradition states that the name is taken from a village in that country. The name of the first ancestor referred to above was Hugh; and his great grandson, Sir Roger Dunville, resided at Beyrsheath, in the County of Chester, A.D. 1281. His descendants continued there for many generations. William Dunville, Esq., of said county, left three sons, A.D. 1628, of whom Gilbert and John came to Ireland. Gilbert became Clerk of the Hanaper and M.P. for Kildare, and John became Clerk of the Common Pleas. W. Dunville, Esq., of Richmond, near Belfast, is the representative here of this family.

# ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The rapid improvement that has taken place in the mode of living in Ulster during the last five-and-twenty years will soon obliterate all traces of what was the common style two generations ago. I speak more particularly of the respectable farming class in some of our best northern districts, and I have in my eye one locality, namely, that portion of the County Down which lies between Banbridge and Rathfriland. I know something of it, and I was interested in noting down lately, from a very old person, a few particulars of the "ways of the country" a century since.

The house my old friend lived in was built about a hundred and fifteen years ago. The large stones for building it were brought upon horses' backs, on a broad straw mat fastened on them, there being no cart roads. Some time after, the horse paths were widened, and then what were called slide-cars were used, that is, carts without wheels; wheels were soon added, and when families used them to go on journeys, a feather bed was put on the cart to make the jolting less disagreeable. Before this contrivance, when a lady wanted to visit her friends, she had to go on a *pillion*, which was a cushion fastened behind the rider on a horse, she holding on by the gentleman. The lady's *wardrobe* was more easily carried than at present. On the wheel-cars or carts were subsequently put "side-boards," to rest the feet on.

Tea-kettles were unknown: the water for tea was boiled in a pot. A Mr. Adams was the first in his neighbourhood who had a copper kettle for tea. The cups and saucers (china) were placed on what was called a tea-board, a circular table raised at the edges, hollowed out of a piece of mahogany, and round this the company sat, holding their cups in their hands; a small piece of china, called a spoon-tray, held a few spoons, about the size of our salt-spoons, and each stirred his tea and put back the spoon. Egg-cups were not thought of—a bowl of boiled eggs was placed on the tea-board, and each person taking one, set it before him, knocking it on the one end in doing so, and then eating it with his knife: egg-*hoops* were invented first and then egg-*cups*. A hundred and fifty years ago, potatoes were grown in such small quantities that the crop was exhausted in September, and it was the custom of farmers' wives to *bury* a dish of them to serve for the Hallowe'en supper of "colkennon." The winter food consisted of oat-bread, oat-meal porridge, salt-beef, and pickled-pork, broth made from boiling these with kail and groats, fowls, eggs, and milk, with butter and cheese, and tea as a variety.

The greater part of what was worn by the family was of home production. The farmer's wife had to scour and spin the wool, and her husband, on winter nights, to make it into flannel for blankets, petticoats, &c.: woven with linen yarn, it made bed-curtains, and ticks for feather beds. Flax was grown and prepared

for linen, for sheets, shirts, and frocks for the children. These were dyed blue for every-day wear, and buff for Sundays; indigo and annatto the dyestuffs used. Candles were made in moulds, flax serving for wicks; and, for kitchen use, rushes were peeled and dipped in grease; a small iron pan was used for this purpose, called a "kam."

The floors of sitting rooms were covered with fine sand, renewed once a week. Mats and carpets were then unknown. A. M.

The Mac Quillins.—The writer of the historical article on the "Clan of the Mac Quillins of Antrim," [vol. viii., p. 252] says that "not a word can be found in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, which suggests the idea of the Mac Quillins' being an alien race." In the very next page, however, a passage from these annals is quoted which mentions *Senicen* Mac Quillin, as high-constable of Ulster in 1358. Now *Senicen* has no semblance of being an Irish name; indeed, I question if it ever occurs in Irish writings unconnected with the name of Mac Quillin. I have no doubt whatever that it is the Gaelic spelling of *Shenkin*, or *Jenkin*, a well-known Welsh name. If this idea be correct, it would go far to prove that there was at least Welsh blood in the family: and would so far corroborate the common tradition, that they were a Welsh tribe, whose name Mac Quillin is a corruption of Mac Llewelyn. Ollamh Fodhla.

Brazen Cauldrons—Gold Torques.—As an addition to the curious particulars embodied in your article on "Brazen Cauldrons," [vol. v., p. 82,] I would adduce the following passage from Livy, [lib. 36, cap. 40,] which shows that large brazen vessels were in use among the ancient Gauls. He mentions that the Roman Consul, after a great victory over the Boii, carried off in triumph all sorts of spoils, and among the rest *brazen vessels* ["P. Cornelius Consul triumphavit de Boiis. In eo triumpho Gallicis carpentis arma signaque et spolia omnis generis transvexit, et *vasa ænea Gallica.*"] Now, it is remarkable that Strabo [lib. viii., cap. 2] mentions a sacred cauldron which had been recently sent as a present by the Cimbri to Augustus, from the Cimmerian peninsula (the present Crimea); ["nuperque Augusto *lebetem*, qui apud ipsos sacerrimus habebatur, domo miserint, amicitiam expetentes:"] and a little further on he says, on the authority of Posidonius, that the Boii formerly inhabited the Hercynian forests, a district which comprehended the modern Transylvania and a large part of Russia. This brings us to the neighbourhood of the country where Herodotus saw the enormous brazen cauldron described by him in the extract given by you at page 90, vol. v; and shows that the ancient Gauls, or at least the tribe called the Boii, brought their knowledge of casting large vessels in bronze from their Scythian birth-place. It is well known that the Russians, from a very remote period, have been adepts in casting great bells, an art probably handed down from their Scythian ancestors.

In the same passage of Livy which I have referred to, he mentions that the Roman Consul carried off, among his spoils, fourteen hundred and seventy-one *torques of gold*, weighing two hundred and forty-seven pounds. ["Aureos torques transtulit mille quadrigentos septua-

ginta unum, ad hoc auri pondo ducenta quadriginta septem."] SENEX.

The remarkable fact, noted by Mr. Grattan in his account of skulls found in a sepulchral mound in the King's County, [vol. i., p. 278.] namely, that the teeth were all worn down regularly, as if by the grinding action of some very hard kind of food, has also been observed in the teeth found in ancient Scotch tumuli. In a paper read at the meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh, in July, 1850, by Dr. Daniel Wilson, on "The evidence of primitive races in Scotland, prior to the Celts," is the following passage:— "One characteristic feature in the skulls found in the various tumuli is the state of the teeth. It is rare to find among them any symptoms of irregularity or decay. In a tumular cemetery at North Berwick, however, the teeth of the skulls, though sound, were *worn in most cases completely flat*, like those of a ruminating animal. Dr. Thurnam remarks the same to have been the case in those found in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Laurel Hill; and it is also observable in an under jaw, found along with other remains of a human skull, an iron hatchet, and several large boar's tusks, in a deep excavation on the south bank of the Castle Hill, Edinburgh. This peculiarity in the teeth of certain classes of ancient crania is of very general application. The inferences to be drawn from such a comparison are of considerable value, in the indications they afford of the domestic habits and social life of a race, the last survivor of which has mouldered underneath the green tumulus, perchance centuries before the era of our earliest authentic chronicles. We perceive [from the appearance of the teeth] that a very decided change took place subsequently in the common food of the country."

What description of food could it have been which required such a grinding process in its mastication as would in this manner wear down the surface of the teeth? The motion of the human jaw is quite different from that of a cow or other ruminating animal, and it is not easy to understand how the regular wearing down could take place with any kind of food. There is another circumstance that seems to me to be worthy of attention. In the tumulus excavated by Mr. Grattan there was no trace found of any metallic object: and, so far as this negative argument goes, we may take it as proving the great antiquity of the burial. But it will be observed that, in the passage just quoted from Dr. Wilson, he mentions one case where along with these worn-down teeth was found an *iron hatchet*, which we must presume was contemporary with them. The race to whom the teeth belonged were therefore acquainted with the use of iron; and we must either conclude that they belonged to a period subsequent to the use of stone and bronze instruments, or attach the knowledge of iron to a more ancient era than northern archæologists now insist on.

SENEX.

# ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Monogram at Grey Abbey.—The monogram on the stone in the ruins of Grey Abbey, referred to in your last number [vol. ix., p. 77.], probably represents the letters K. S. L. M., "Katherine Stewart, Lady Montgomery," who was first wife of Sir James Montgomery of Grey Abbey, (see Harris's *History of the County Down*, p. 51.), brother of W. Montgomery, the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, which have been published. This stone was exhibited in the Belfast Museum, during the meeting of the British Association, in 1852. Another monogram occurs on a stone over the entrance of the old church of Newtownards, of which I give a copy here.

It may represent H. L. V. M., "Hugh Lord Viscount Montgomery." Harris, in his *History of the County Down*, erroneously gives this monogram as N. A. The solution here suggested is further strengthened by the inscription on a stone found in the garden of Ardglass Castle, in December, 1851. It bears the coat-of-arms of Montgomery of Braidstane, who was afterwards Hugh, Lord Montgomery. Surrounding the coat-of-arms are the three initial letters of the title, H. L. M. It is more than probable that the monogram in question was carved by the hand of William Montgomery, mentioned above as the author of the *Manuscripts*, as he had a great fancy in that way. Slates, with inscriptions painted on them, and a large flag stone, with a quaint inscription cut upon it, were found some years ago in his vault at Grey Abbey, evidently done by himself. In the inscription on his father's monument, as given by Harris, he says "*painted* and erected by W. M."

I regret to say that the stone bearing the monogram was carried off in the year 1859-60, by some inconsiderate visitor of the old abbey. It can be of no interest to any one apart from the ruins; and it is to be hoped that the present notice may lead to its restoration. F. O. M.

Early Flax-Spinning Mills in the County Antrim.—Your correspondent, G. B., is very nearly correct in fixing the date 1810 as the period when the first flax-spinning mills were built in this county. In a paper descriptive of Cushendall, in the *Belfast Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 92 (August, 1809), mention is made of a factory there "nearly completed for spinning linen yarn." If I am not mistaken there was one at Crumlin about the same period. Belfastiensis.

Bull-Baiting.—[vol. viii., p. 236.] The late Israel Milliken of Belfast, who was between 80 and 90 years of age at the time of his death, in 1857, told me in 1846 (as I find by a note taken at the time) that he perfectly remembered seeing, when a boy, about 60 or 70 years previously, a bull-bait in a field near Peter's Hill, Belfast. On this occasion the bull broke loose

and caused great consternation. He said that, at that time, it was the custom for the Mayor of Carrickfergus annually to give a bull to be baited, and he remembered the Belfast butchers going down there with their dogs. The custom was given up after some time, but he understood that some equivalent for it in money continued to be given. BELFASTIENSIS.

PROVERB, "East Rain, &c."—[Queries, vol. ix. p. 78.] Rain with an east wind generally lasts twelve or twenty-four hours; and I have always observed, during its continuance, a frequent breaking of the clouds and even brightening of the sky, deluding one with the hope that the rain was about to cease, and the sun to shine. But, though the rain may abate or possibly cease for a few minutes, fresh clouds immediately obscure the brightness, and the rain falls as fast as ever. This raising of false hopes of fair weather in the minds of the inexperienced or unobservant, is my reading of the saying that "East rain makes fools fain." WEATHER-WISE.

JAUNTING CARS.—[Queries, vol. ix. p. 78] Lord Grey de Wilton, who died in 1593, first brought *coaches* to Ireland; but I think our modern jaunting-car is a development and improvement of the old Irish "wheel-car," and not more than a century old. AURIGA.

SAFFRON.—Your correspondent *Conan* [Queries, vol. v., p. 58,] askes if the old Irish dyed their linen with saffron. I believe that there is no doubt that "*crocus*," in the old accounts, merely implied the colour and not the dye-stuff; and that the Irish yellow was dyed with the *Reseda luteola*, the "Yellow Weed," in Irish *Buidhe Mór*. Another ingredient (not very euphonious to ears polite), mentioned as being used for this purpose, was probably only employed to heighten or to fix the colour. I have often thought that the preference of the Irish for yellow garments had some connexion with the eastern origin of the nation. Many notices in the Greek classics prove that saffron-coloured robes had some dignity attached to them. Bacchus is described as wearing them. Among the Grecian women they seem to have been a favourite article of luxury. *Krokoton* frequently occurs in Aristophanes as an important part of female attire. It was a yellow inner garment, and is mentioned as worn at the solemn festival of the Thesmophoria. The bridal veil also was yellow. Pindar speaks of the infant Hercules as wrapped in *Krokoton* [*Nem.* 4. 58]. If I do not mistake, some of the Egyptian deities are represented as wearing robes of the same colour; but I cannot just now remember references on the point. I am under an impression, also, that the Lamas of Thibet wear a yellow vesture; and that some of the voluminous shirts worn in Ceylon are of the same colour. That the ancient Germans were fond of yellow mantles appears from Persius. [Sat. 6.] I do not dwell on Apollo's having a garment of that colour, ["crocco velatur amictu," Ovid. *Ar. Amor.* 3. 179.] as it might have been *pictorially* ascribed to him, as to Aurora; but it is remarkable that Virgil [*Æneid*, xi., 75] describes the Phrygian priest of Cybele as having "croceam chlamydem, sinusque crepantes carbaseos." We have here both a yellow mantle and flowing folds of linen; though this certainly does not amount to having the linen also yellow.

T. H. P.

# QUERIES.

In Ware's work, *De Præsulibus Lageniæ sive Provinciæ Dubliniensis*, under the head of "Laurence O'Toole," the following passage occurs:—"A portion of the bones of this archbishop, who was canonized by Honorius III. in the year 1215, were translated [from Normandy where he died] to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dublin [now called Christ Church], *together with the pastoral staff* (baculo) *of St. Patrick*, which had been transferred thither from Armagh by William the son of Aldelm, in the year 1180, and, together with other relics there, are said to have been preserved with great care until the reign of Edward VI."—Can any reader of the *Journal* supplement the information here given respecting this interesting relic of Irish ecclesiastical rule,—namely, St. Patrick's pastoral staff?

In the same treatise, under the heading of "Bishops of Derry" *(Episcopi Derenses)*, a notice is given of a prelate named "Walter Wellesley" *(vulgò* "Wesley.") This bishop is described as "prior canonicorum cœnobii *Conallensis in agro Kildariensi*." He is further stated to have been "Master of the Rolls;" and to have been raised to the episcopate, at the request of Henry VIII., by the Pope, and confirmed in his temporal office on the 23rd of September, 1531. Would it not appear likely that the above Walter Wellesley was of the same family whence the illustrious Duke of Wellington derived his origin? The above reference to the County of Kildare would seem to intimate as much. Can any reader further trace this connection? M. E.

At what period was the *bloody-hand* first recognized on the standard of the Ulster Chieftains? Was it anciently confined to the Northern province? What is regarded as its origin? Was it in ancient times represented in any other form than that of an outspread red hand? M. W.

This portion is included in the 2nd Edition of the Montgomery Manuscripts published in Belfast 1830 pp 53–184.

NOTICE OF A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PORTION OF

# THE "MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS."

BY THE Rev. WILLIAM Mac ILWAINE, BELFAST.

The volume entituled "The Montgomery Manuscripts" has now become so rare, that a brief notice of it, as well as of its contents, will not be unacceptable to the readers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*. Such notice is, indeed, in some measure due and necessary, in order that the appended portion of these interesting documents—singularly enough recovered, and now for the first time printed—may be the more intelligible and appreciated.

All hitherto remaining of these manuscripts is contained in a duodecimo volume of 335 pages, now out of print, in the preface to which some account of them is given. These papers were originally written between the years 1689 and 1704, by William Montgomery, Esq., only son of Sir James Montgomery, second son of Hugh, first Viscount Montgomery. The author, on the title page of the volume here referred to, is incorrectly stated to have been second son of Sir James M. The correction above given is due to Harris, in his "*Ancient and Present State of the County of Down.*" From the important and stirring era in which the author lived, as also from his having borne no inconsiderable part in the events which then transpired, his memoirs, as might well be expected, are full of interest. This interest is heightened by the unquestionable authenticity of the narrative, as well as by the quaintly characteristic style wherein it is composed. William Montgomery was evidently a man of considerable information, an acute and shrewd observer, and a fair proficient in classical learning, if he be not entitled to the epithet of a ripe scholar. As the descendant of a family who had borne a considerable share in "the settlement" of Ulster, and more especially of "the Ardes," he was fully qualified to record the transactions of the period in which he lived, and did so with much accuracy and considerable research. It is much to be regretted that the entire of his memorials have not descended, as, to judge from what have been transmitted, they would have afforded valuable materials for the regular historian of the period embraced in them.

We are informed in the preface of the volume already quoted that a considerable portion of the manuscripts was printed in the *Belfast Newsletter*, so early as 1785 and 1786. Their publication was suspended at that date, chiefly in consequence of their being considered too voluminous for the columns of a newspaper. They were reprinted, in part, in the same journal, in 1822, and collected into the volume under notice in 1830. That volume appears to have been limited in the number of copies originally struck off, and is now exceedingly rare. The preface concludes with the following notice of the writer:—

"He was the son of Sir James Montgomery, and was born at Aughantain in Tyrone, on the 27th of October, 1633. He represented the borough of Newtownards in the Irish Parliament, which, shortly after the Restoration, passed the celebrated act for the settlement of military adventurers in Ireland. In his habits he appears to have been studious, to have possessed persevering industry, extensive knowledge, and acuteness of observation, notwithstanding the quaint parenthetical style of his composition—a fault attributable not to him but to the age in which he lived. He wrote these memoirs between the years 1698 and 1704. In a historical view their authority is indubitable. It has been alluded to by Lodge in his *Irish Peerage*. . . . . Copious extracts from the original MSS. of the Lords Mount Alexander, and of Captain George Montgomery, were first published in the *Belfast Newsletter*, with the consent of Daniel Delacherois, of Donaghadee, Esq., (in whose family they had been preserved), when a great portion of the original MSS. became missing, and after repeated researches to recover them, it was found that a copy of them had been taken, which being traced out, was obligingly communicated. When compared with the parts printed in 1785 and 1786, they were found exactly to correspond, and have been used in completing the present publication."

The contents of this now scarce volume, are pretty fully stated in its title-page, which is accordingly here given (see note.[a]) The error occurring in the genealogy of the author has been already noticed. The narrative, which is consecutive, traces the early settlement of the "Montgomeries of the Ardes," from their first Scottish ancestor, Hugh Montgomery, sixth Laird of Braidstane, down to the date of William, the writer of the memoirs, and the inheritor of Rosemount, in the immediate vicinity of Greyabbey, in the County of Down, now the residence of Hugh Montgomery, Esq, the present representative of that family. The family thus descended from, or immediately allied to, the ancient Scottish house of Eglintoun, remained faithful to the fortunes of the House of Stuart throughout the entire period of the great Irish Rebellion of 1641, and following years, until that of the Restoration. The Montgomeries likewise retained their religion, as staunch Episcopalians, and were strongly opposed to the followers of the "Solemn League and Covenant," as well as to Presbytery in all its forms. The writer of the MSS. retained all his family's ancient sentiments and prejudices, religious as well as political; and the consequent bias of his views is evident in his writings. But they are composed in a spirit of such manifest earnestness, and with so much honesty of purpose and principle, that it is impossible to read them without interest, and difficult to withold respect from the author. Few compendiums of the sort are more popular than the Montgomery MSS. wherever

[a] THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS.
Containing accounts of the Colonization of the Ardes, in the County of Down, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Memoirs of the First, Second, and Third Viscounts Montgomery, and Captain George Montgomery; also a Description of the Barony of Ards, with various local and historical facts connected with the colonization of Ulster. Also an Appendix, containing Incidental Remembrances of the two ancient Families of the Savages, formerly the Lords of the Little Ardes. Printed from Original Manuscripts and Transcripts of MSS. composed by William Montgomery, Esq., second son of Sir James Montgomery, [between the years 1698 and 1704."

they are found, and few have been more readily employed by regular historians and biographers, when access to them has been obtained.

It is therefore with feelings of much satisfaction that the writer of these few introductory remarks is permitted to notice the recovery of an unmistakeably genuine fragment of these documents, hitherto unedited, and now for the first time printed. Having ascertained the possibility of its existence, through the Editor of this *Journal*, it was traced, after some enquiries, to the possession of Adam Dickey, Esq., of Belfast, who obligingly lent it for the purpose of transcription, and also gave sufficient information as to its history, to establish the genuineness of the document. It was in the possession of a sister of that gentleman, some few years deceased, and had been recovered by her from some distant connexion of the family, into whose hands it had fallen, and by whom it had been carried to America. It would appear that these interesting memorials of the Montgomery family, (with which Mr. Dickey and his late sister were ancestrally connected), had become the property of two maiden ladies of that name, well known in Belfast, but some time deceased; and having been entrusted to the care of the parties already mentioned, they had crossed the Atlantic, where they remained until recovered by the lady above referred to. It is almost certain that the portion here printed is but a part of what had thus been transported; and it is also to be feared that the remainder is now irrecoverably lost. Reference is made in the printed volume to other portions of the Montgomery MSS.; and it is no small satisfaction to the present editor to find that the memorials now given to the public are unquestionably a part at least of these documents. The additional light, though comparatively imperfect, thrown by them on the important and interesting period of Irish history embraced therein, cannot fail to interest all who desire fuller information respecting the Ulster settlement.

It may be useful to the reader to refer briefly to some points of identification, among others, of the following recovered MS. On obtaining possession of it, and at the request of the Editor of this *Journal*, the writer proceeded to examine its contents, and at once perceived that they bore the strongest possible resemblance to the Montgomery MSS. already edited. In the printed volume the abbreviations of the original have been preserved, and others exactly similar are here remarked, such are *Lop* (Lordship), *Gen^ll*, *ag^t*, *wh.* and several others. The handwriting is beautifully clear throughout, and of the date comprehended in the memoir. The style entirely corresponds to the quaint, parenthetic, and scholastic one of the printed volume; and not many pages of it were read before the characteristics of the old Royalist churchman clearly manifested themselves. But, in order to prove the unquestionable genuineness of the document, it is only necessary to note one or two references to the original Montgomery MS. which occur in it.

In the MS. here printed, mention is made of a Hugh Montgomery, and again of a Mr. Alexander Montgomery. Of the former it is said that "he is mentioned p. 51;" and of the latter that he is mentioned in "Bp: Geo. Montgomery's life, page 55." Referring, accordingly, to

the printed memoirs, we find both these names occurring at p. 78—the former (Hugh M.) being there described as "settled at Derrybrosh, near Enniskillen," as intimated in the unpublished MS.

It is interesting to note another coincidence between the published and unpublished documents. It will be perceived that the pages marked 54 and 55 in the original MS. correspond with page 78 of the printed copy. This latter comprises 335 duodecimo pages of letter-press, and a simple calculation would lead us to conclude that there were about 250 pages in the MS. originally printed. Singularly enough, the pagination of the recovered MS. commences at 251, and proceeds uninterruptedly until 286. A *hiatus* here occurs, which is supplied by a continuation, in the same hand, to the close, at p. 312, the paging in the latter portion having been altered, so as to correspond with the former. It would thus appear probable that the portion now printed very nearly completes the Montgomery MS. We are accordingly here presented with the additional biographies of some of the same ancient family which had been left unnoticed in the earlier documents, together with some remarks of the writer on literary subjects. The latter appear sufficiently quaint and curious to warrant their publication, especially as they go to farther identify the authorship of the entire.

If any additional proof were wanting as to the authorship of these documents, we have it at the foot of p. 279 of the MS., where the initials of the writer are found, viz., W. M., with an ornamental flourish between.

Some few particulars respecting the writer of the entire may be added, as necessary to elucidate the following pages.

William Montgomery was, as already stated, only son, by his first marriage, of Sir James Montgomery, who is thus noticed in Harris's "*Down*," (p. 50.)

"On a monument erected on the north side of the altar, under four several coats of arms belonging to the branches of this family, are the following words, viz.:—

"The Honourable Sir James Mountgomery, a person of Knowledge, Courage, Piety, and Worth, well educated at Schools and Universities, (as his Manuscripts yet extant do shew,) travelled to France, Italy, Germany, and Holland, learned those Lingua's, and made profitable Observations relating to Peace and War; returning Home, studied at the Inns of Law, sollicited his Father's Business at the Royal Court, at the Council Table, at the Parliament and Prerogative in England, and before the Government and Four Courts in Ireland; was second Son of Hugh, first Lord Viscount Mountgomery of Ards, and Gentleman in Ordinary of the Privy Chamber to King Charles the Martyr, Colonel of Foot and Captain of Horse, which he raised at his own Expense and by his Credit, and maintained by his Prudence and Industry fifteen Months in the Barony of Lecale, which he preserved all that time from the Irish of this County, and their assisting Neighbours; and many other valuable Services performed during all that War (the Records whereof are kept.) He was thrice married, viz., Ann. 1631, to Katherine, eldest Daughter of Sir William Stewart Knight Baronet, and Privy Councellor; Ann. 163— to Margaret, eldest Daughter of Sir William Cole of Enniskillin, Kt.

and Ann. 1647 to Francesse St. Laurence, 3d. Daughter of Nicholas, Lord Baron of Houth. His first Lady being embalmed and kept two Months, was put in a black marble Coffin, and laid five Foot above Ground in the middle of her Monument, which was curious and sumptuous, of divers Colours, all polish'd Marble, inscribed with Motto's and Verses of his own Composure, and gilded in every fit Place; which standing in Newton-Stewart Church was with it burned and demolished by the Irish, Ann. 1641. Behold its Pourfile on a Board near this.

"His other two Virtuous Ladies and their Children (which died before them) lie buried over against this Monument; to all whose Memory it is the carved Device and Armories at the Defuncts Expence long ago made, his only Grand Child James (also now assisting) of Gratitude painted and erected by W. M. primi ventris sola proles, the Year of the World's Peace and Happiness M,DC,XCIII, Æt. 62."

The above monument as well as the others mentioned by Harris, are now totally defaced.

The author of the above and of the MSS. married his cousin the Hon. Elizabeth Montgomery, daughter of Hugh, second Viscount Montgomery. They had an only son, James, who married Elizabeth Edmonstone. Their eldest son, William, married Isabella, daughter of the Hon. John Campbell, second brother of the second Earl of Argyle, and had two sons who died at Killough (Co. Down), and with them ended the male descendants of the author. The property of Rosemount passed, in 1719, into the possession of the ancestors of Hugh Montgomery, Esq., by whom the foregoing particulars have been obligingly communicated.

The tombstone in Greyabbey placed over the grave of William Montgomery, the inscription of which is given in Harris, was broken by the fall of a stone from the ruins in January, 1839. A similar one, however, was procured, and the inscription, as it now stands, accurately restored, by the present possessor of Rosemount. No other monument of any note, of all those mentioned by Harris, now remains. The inscription referred to is believed to be William Montgomery's composition, the date of his demise being added by a survivor, and is here given.

*In Honoratum* Gulielmum Mountgomery *de* Rosemount *Armigerum, qui in Domino obdormivit 7mo. die of* January, *Anno* ΧΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΙΑΣ 170$\frac{6}{7}$. *Æt.* 74.

*Armiger, ecce, manu, vitâ, literisque profundis,*
*Qui largus, lampas, Coryphæus, fata, peregit,*
*Laude, fide, genere, et clementia tum probitate*
*Luxit laudatus, præcellens, vicit amatus.*

At the bottom,

*Idyllium hoc elaboravit et sculpsit*

AL. DUNCAN

These remarks may suffice both to illustrate and point out the interest attaching to the pages which follow. The writer cannot conclude without expressing a wish that the entire of the Montgomery MSS., or at least the portion of them which is now accessible, were reprinted, with accompanying notes by some adequate hand. The whole would form, it is almost needless to remark, a valuable addition to the history of our northern Irish province.

# THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPT.

## OF HUGH MONTGOMERY, OF BALLYMAGOUN.

I now write a narrative of Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagoun Esq[r] and his family, of good account in y[e] barony of Ardes: and well known; and will begin at his ancestors, mentioning them singly, because I want memoires of them.

I knew his father Mr. James Montgomery from June 1641 till his death 1647.

This gentleman was born in y[e] North parts of Scotland, where his father was a minister of Christ's Gospel,[b] his grandfather being a Cadet of the House of Hazilhead in the west, who having transported and transplanted himself thence, fixed his Roots near Monros, at a place called Hatoune, in y[e] said Northern parts, and from him sprung divers male plants, whether removed by death, or into a warmer richer soile beyond our seas I know not; but when they were alive and at home they were called the nyne bold brothers of the Hatoune aforesaid. These gentlemen were unkles, (by the Father) to the s[d] Mr. James.

Whom I find to have marryed Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of a younger son of the Ancient family of Dundrod, her mother being eldest daughter of John Shaw, Laird of Greenock; shee was also widdow of Mr. David M[c]Gill who died (as appears by his monument stone in Grayabby church wall) y[e] 14[th] of Oct[r] 1639.

[b] The name of this gentleman appears to have been James also, and the following reference is, doubtless to him, in Harris's Book. (p. 53) Under the head of Greyabbey, that author writes thus:—

"On a Tablet hung up against the Wall, whereon the Arms of this Family are painted, is this Inscription."

Prælectus, fidelis, et Strenuus Evangelii Præco, Jacobus Mountgomery Generosus, in Artibus Magister, ex Familiâ de Hasilhead in Scotiâ Oriundus, Militi Aurato (ejusdem utriusq: nominis) Affinis, et sub illo in pace et bello Curator Animarum vigilantissimus, Cujus Spiritus migravit e terris in Cælum Deo datori——Die——Anno a Christo nato M.DC.——Corpus autem Sub Cathedrâ veritatis hic jacet Sepultum, Posteritasq; Conditur in Spe Ἀναστάσεως

D. O. M. Gloria

AMEN.

Underneath the Arms.

Occidit hic (mirum!) nullâ Sol nocte secutâ.
This Sun hath set, and yet no Night ensu'd;
No Wonder; for God here his Light renew'd.

Posuit amœus lubens merito Anno a mundo taxato 1693."

There is little difficulty in tracing the authorship of the above to the writer of the MSS. This monumental tablet has shared the fate of all, with the exception already mentioned, formerly existing in Greyabbey.

This Mr James was Chaplain to the first Vis^t^ Montgomery, and appeared as such in the procession at his Lo^ps^ funerall in Sep^tr^ A° 1636.[c]

He brought with him into Ireland (as I am credibly told) 300^li^ ster: and his father seenred to be paid unto him as much more, when himself should dye: which last money was transacted for About A° 1653, as shall herein be mentioned afterwards.

This M^r^ James succeeding to M^r^ David afores^d^ in his bed (and being thereby next cosen to our 2^d^ vis^t^ and to S^r^ James Montgomery by affinity) he also filled the s^d^ M^r^ David's Pulpit, as Curate in Grayabby, till expelled thereont, by the ministers of the Scottish army, wh^ch^ sett up presbiterian Governm^t^ and y^e^ League and Covenant in Ulster A° 1643. They summoned him to their Presbiterys, At one of which he disputed his right by Gospel and Law: but to no purpose; for they told him peremptorily that he must renounce the service book, and swear their Covenant, or he should be silenced, wh^ch^ he refusing to doo, told them, they were too many hounds, thus to pursue one hare: But if they would dispute with him one after another, he would doo it any manner of way they would assigne. He was vexed by their frequent citations; to be ridd of which he had an opportunity to meet him whom they call the Moderator, in the Roade on equall terms; and then told him Roundly by Mr. John, you and your brethren are a pack of usurpers, and you use club Law ag^t^ mee, and are resolved to expell mee from my office and sallary, and you harrass me from place to place by your sermons, but here I Swear, if you forbear not to trouble me more, or if you presume to give sentence of excomunication ag^t^ mee, I will take my amends on thy body and bones, for you shall wrong me too much to cause my sallary be given from me. These words (or the like) mortifyd the fatt M^r^ John, and he had care to stop farther citations, and so saved his own bacon, from being basted with a Cudgell. M^r^ James being thus hindered the exercise of his office in his Parish, was made Chaplain to the Regiment by S^r^ Ja: Montg^r^ afores^d^ and he earned his pay truely as a Preacher and as a soldier; heartning the men both ways, and by valorous example ag^t^ the Irish Rebells at Dundrum, Ballydugan, in Lecahill, and elsewhere, under the command of his Coll: Last named.[d]

[c] This event is thus recorded in the published MSS. p. 96:—

"We have his Lordship now in Newtown and in the neighbourhood, composing some differences (as to his lands) which had not been perfected to him, pursuant to articles made the 17th Dec., 1663, other whiles his Lordship attended the Council Board. Thus and in the service of God, his king and country, as formerly, he spent the residue of his life, which ended May, 1636, in a good old age of 76 years."

[d] The above record presents a sufficiently characteristic example of the Royalist and Episcopalian predilections of the subjects of this memoir, already referred to. The following extract from the published MS. is so much to the same purpose that its insertion will probably be not unacceptable. It refers to "the Lady Jean," the sister of the second Earl.

"She was born in Newton house, in 7^br^ A° 1649. She had her name from her grandmother, by y^e^ father, and yet y^e^ Presbiterian Ministers refused to baptyze her (so they called y^e^ administration of that sacrament (as I now think) improperly: for neither ours nor theirs in these cold cli-

This Gent's elder brother named Samuel (who was at first an officer abroad, and then L$^{t}$ to y$^{e}$ L$^{d}$ Cromwel's Troop, but it being broke A$^{o}$ 1641) he became L$^{t}$ in S$^{r}$ Ja. Montg$^{r}$ troop, afterwards he was major in Scotland: but dislikeing Gen$^{ll}$ Lessly's march into England ag$^{t}$ K. Ch: y$^{e}$ first, he returned and was made by S$^{r}$ James afores$^{d}$, eldest Cap$^{tn}$ of his Regiment: he dyed in Portoferry and is buryed whe$^{r}$ Patt Savage, Esq$^{r}$ hath now his seat in y$^{e}$ church; over which there is an hollow place made in the wall—wherein it was designed his arms and epitaph should have been put. He died unmarried and left to y$^{e}$ s$^{d}$ M$^{r}$ James 200£ owing to the former Patt Savage, which was lately paid to his son Hugh of Bally ma gown Esq$^{r}$.

The said Mr. James being divers years a Widdower marryed the daughter of M$^{r}$ Hugh Montgomery, senesehall to the 2$^{d}$ and 3$^{d}$ Vise$^{t}$ of Ards, and by this Gent$^{l}$ woman had children; I knew one of them, called Rob$^{t}$ (a Pretty man) like his father, but he dyed in his brother Hu's house without marriage.

M$^{r}$ James dying A$^{o}$ 164$\frac{7}{8}$ left the said Hu (his son by the first venter) about the age of —— years, but his other chi'dren were very young and his widdow, and they were all well provided for, but she taking a husband one M$^{r}$ Smith hee treated them all ill, w$^{h}$ was both a loss and a burden to y$^{e}$ s$^{d}$ Hu: (of whom this narrative is designed chiefly to speak) for his stepmother dyed and his other children were left bare and a charge to him.

I come now in the next place to proseeute my desygned undertaking as touching the first Person herein named, viz: Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown Esq$^{r}$ whos s$^{d}$ father (on his 2$^{d}$ marriage) sent him to his friends, in Scotland, he returned and was at school both in Grayabby (where he was born A$^{o}$ ——) and at Newtown also; and then hee and I came acquainted and intimate A$^{o}$ 1649.

mates use immersion of infants, but sprinkling) for they had a pique at her father for acting by the K$^{s}$ Com$^{n}$, and n:t by their directions and authority, and so he must have stood in y$^{e}$ stoole of repentance (as they call it) before y$^{e}$ Congregation: and in it must have accused his obedience by K$^{s}$ Com$^{n}$ as a Sinn comitted by him, ere they would christen his s$^{d}$ daughter, and must hold her up too, and promise for her and himself what they would please to impose, but his Lo$^{p}$ disdained their usurped jurisdiction, and would not comply: His Lo$^{p}$ was not displeased that they denyd his mother's request in that behalf, as they had formerly renounced their duty to y K. when they deserted himself. So a legall minister named Mr. ——— Mathews (whom they had turned out of his office and benefice ag$^{t}$ law, as they did all the other legall clergy) christnd her according to y$^{e}$ Service Book, as all his Lopp's other offspring were."

By a somewhat singular coincidence, the writer of this note has at present in his possession a very interesting vol. of MS. sermons, from the pen, if he mistakes not, of the identical Mr. Mathews here mentioned. The vol. consists of 19 sermons, written in an exceedingly neat hand, and evidently of the same date as the Montgomery MSS. On the blank leaf which precedes them, and in the same hand, the name of "John Mathewes" occurs, with the date added 1705. These sermons are noted as having been preached at different churches in the Co. of Down, chiefly at Kilkeel, Kilmeegan, and Kilcoo, all of which are in the exempt jurisdiction of Mourne. They appear to have been preached from 1690 to 1691, and are most probably the composition of the Episcopalian Minister above referred to. The volume formerly belonged to Sir W. Betham, and was purchased at the sale of his collection.

A° 1649 I went to Scotland, thence to Holland, came to London and Dublin; and went twice to London, and oftner to Dublin; Solliciting for my Estate and making onely visits into the County of Downe, till in or about A° 1656: and then my Intimacy with the said Hugh was renewed.

But long before this time viz. A° 1652, my late Dearest Vis$^{t}$ hearing of my father's death (unfortunate for us all) and that his chief papers etc: were lodged with S$^{r}$ Alex$^{r}$ Sutherland of Duffus (beyond Aberdeen) his Lo$^{p}$ to the end they might be brought home for my use employed therein Cap$^{t}$ Hu: M$^{c}$Gill, brother uterin to the s$^{d}$ Hu: (who then Remained w$^{th}$ his other bro: by y$^{e}$ Same Venter, Cap$^{t}$ Ja: M$^{c}$Gill.)

The s$^{d}$ Cap$^{t}$ Hu: haveing this oppertunity (as being sent on my business into those northern Parts) he transacted the s$^{d}$ Hugh's affairs with his debto$^{rs}$ (as himself Lately told mee) to his loss; so it seems he Escaped not a Minority bad fate, as to that part of his Stock, which was due to his father in Scotland; perhapps those Aberdeen shire debt$^{rs}$ plaid a Northland game in his Concerns.

Anno 1656 (lately mentioned) y$^{e}$ Intimacy afors$^{d}$ being renewed; and there being a necessity for me to goe again to Westminster, and I haveing had no hired serv$^{t}$ since I went to Holland, The s$^{d}$ Cap$^{t}$ Hu: and other friends thought it fitt both for me and the s$^{d}$ Hugh's Education, and to Save his Stock partly, that he should attend mee. Now this way of placing younger sons or orph$^{ts}$ in France, is accounted no disparagem$^{t}$, but an advantage to such youths in Seeing y$^{e}$ World, and understanding Affaires, and by contracting friendships of the family they serve in rather than loiter at home (like droans) devouring their own honey. And I was glad, therein to oblige a kinsman, and to have a faithfull helper in what I had to doe, and then we went together, and liked one another so well as we parted not for divers years.

In A° 1657, I was in suite of law ag$^{t}$ S$^{r}$ B. O'Neile for possession of Ballyhornan, and happning to meet him, in the Remembrancer of Exchequ$^{rs}$ office, wee fell on some discourses wherein Mutuall Reflections past. I had given him no worse language than he had used to me, and I thought there wold be no more of it, in that place, but on a sudden the Baronett struck me a great blow with his fist on y$^{e}$ mouth and nose which bruised and bled me abundantly, So that I could not give him half Requitall, being soon parted by y$^{e}$ Clerks and Clyents; but I should have payd him that Debt on next Sight, had not the s$^{d}$ Hugh's indignation Stomached him to that degree (when he had heard of the Abuse done me) that unknown to mee, he finding the Bar$^{t}$ in the street bestowed on his shoulders liberally and publiquely le coups de bastoun: for which Rash assault and battery Hugh was immediately taken and confined, wherof word being brought to me I gott him enlarged, reprimanding him for taking my Quarrel out of my own hand.

The said Hugh was Likewise Zealous in Soliciting (as I instructed him) in Severall particulars of that suite, till I recovered possession of Ballyhornan afores$^{d}$ wherein I placed his half brother y$^{e}$ s$^{d}$ Cap$^{t}$ Hugh to Dwell. Item. I had an order from Hen: Cromwell in his Counci Board, dated the 10$^{th}$ of July 1658 for haveing y$^{r}$ Quarter's Rent of Florida Lands, due the last day of that

month, sequestered into the hands of our High Sherriff, who was then Major Bingley, I sent the Order to him by the s^d Hu. who used wonderfull diligence and circumspection therein, not only by a speedy delivery of y^e order, but also in going to all the Tennants w^th orders from y^e sheriff, that they should come and pay him their Rent, the said Hu: Likewise persuading them to side w^th me; this being but an introduction to my getting possession of the Lands: wh^ch I had bought with Debentures: and that they sh^d disregard Coll: Barrow's Agents, in whose hands they were to come no more; and his management had good effects as I had expected from his Care and Fidelity therein, for before the end of the s^d Month (as I remembered) I Sent down to him, another Order, for possession wherein y^e s^d Hugh's other brother Cap^t Ja^s M^cGill assisted him, and the sherriff was friendly and quick, in giving them possession for my use. Thus I had the iron beaten whilst it was hott, because I had heard of Ol: Crom: sickness, and his death (which hapnd the 3^d of 7ber) came not to our knowledge a good while after, and so neither sherif nor govn^r were superseaded till I recv^d atturnem^t and the s^d quarter's Rent into my friend's hand.

After this Grand Affaire done, the said Hu: returned to me to Dublin, Where haveing seen Richard proclaimed Protector, and comotions a brewing, we came into this County, did our private business, made visits, went again to Dublin, stayd not long there, but returned home; and now parted not till K. Ch^s Restauration: before which I had Seized Rosemount house, and Quintinbay Castle, into my Possession.

It was much about this time (as I think) the s^d Hu: desireing further improvem^t and advancem^t that I willingly resigned him into our late Visc^t's service. I have guessed at the time of the s^d Hugh's engagement and mine to one another.

And I must here note that I doe not remember of any Sett time of our continueing together, or that any wages were conditioned for or demanded or given; So it seems We joyned hands for Better for worse, so, yet wee parted as afores^d (not as divorced couples A Mensa et Thoro) for misdemeannors or Dislikes on either sides (the causes for which M^r Officiall makes his Seperations) but Loveingly and with hearty wishes for one another's Promotion. This One mark of my Respect for him comes now to my mind, (but I do not mention it for any Vanity, or to boast, the gift being smal) that I equipped him in new Clothes from the shopp when he was leaving me (Hee being then also fitted by education) to be and appeare as our 3^d Visc^t's gentleman, and the s^d Hugh (some months thereafter) bestowed and sent to me a delicat sorrel nag (wh. I called the Rose) and there are still kind Giff Gaffs, of one Sort or other between us. And this I may further say, for us both, that wee doe (and always did) love each other, never thwarting one the other for anything of our own concerns (w^ch cannot now interfere) And Likewise I must Note, that his bosome female friend, was ever Very acceptable company to my better half, my dearest bed-fellow.

A^o 1660 it was that our Hu (so I now take leave to call him), because Hee came into better hands than mine, viz. (as I said) into our 3d Visc^t's service; wherein (besides his Preferm^t) He

attained to more Sorts of knowledge and to understand things at Court much better than he could in Ol$^{s}$ usurpation, when he was in my company. For our s$^{d}$ Visc$^{t}$ had that affection and affiance for this our Hu: that (by degrees) his Lo$^{p}$ put him in the stations following, viz. Imprimis he made him Gentl. (as I may term it) of his Bedchamber, to be first in the Morning, and Last at night therein (except the Lady's waiting woman), to See his Lo$^{p's}$ wound seringed, and to receave Orders, for in the Dressing Roome attended the Valet du Chamber and y$^{e}$ Page. Item his L$^{p}$ made him his privy Purs filler; and his Casheire and Paymaster to all his Serv$^{ts}$, Shoppkeepers, Sadlers, Harnass Makers, Tailors, etc.: and made him M$^{r}$ of his Escoury, giveing him Authority over all his men Serv$^{ts}$, to comand and Correct them, comitting the hireing and choice of them unto him also. Now in all this, who cannot but see the Love and Trust I spoke of (in the beginning of the last foregoing paragraph) couched under other words?

These kind Reguards and Likeings, now increased in his Lo$^{p}$ to our Hugh, on y$^{e}$ grounds following, viz$^{t}$. first, our Hugh was (as others were) 2d Cosen to his Lo$^{p}$, by affinity afores$^{d}$: next he had his name given him for his Lo$^{p}$, on the 2d Visc$^{t's}$ Sake; there haveing been none of his Race (that I could Learn) of that name before himselfe, who was of y$^{s}$ S$^{r}$ name also. But the chief motives w$^{ch}$ hightned the s$^{d}$ likeing to a Love, and to give him Large allowances for accidental expences; was our s$^{d}$ Hugh's skill in chooseing and buying his Lo$^{p's}$ (saddle and coach) Horses and furniture: His care and conduct of the Stable, and makeing Provisions for the same: His honnest frugal, yet Creditable disbursem$^{ts}$ therein: and in the Jorney his Lo$^{p}$ made (w$^{th}$ his Lady) to London, Stay there, Return to Dublin, and aboade in it, wherever his Lo$^{p}$ travelled, and his being carefull to have his Acc$^{ts}$ often revised, examined, and found Just: wherein our s$^{d}$ Hugh's love and fidelity to his Lo$^{p's}$ service more and more appeared as they ought to be done, So that our Hugh was deservedly his Lord's Favorit, whence he obtained the designation of my Lord's Hugh, and so he was called by y$^{e}$ best Relations of his Lo$^{p's}$ family, as well as by y$^{e}$ dependants and Tenants thereof. Hee not haveing (as yett) laid out his money on Lands, from which to be so stiled as now he is, neither did I hear that his Lo$^{pp}$ (at his entry to his service) conditioned for or paid him any wages, but admitted himself and his serv$^{t}$ into his troop, duly free.

In all his Sunshine I am verily of opinion, that this our Lord's Hugh (by which name I will write of him hereafter) made not any Hay to himself of his Lord's Grass. Hee having expectations enough to be gratified or raised by his Lord's own hand (to which he looked) and so needed not to carve for himself, who in those dayes had aboundance at his will, but no wife or children to provide for, or to be covetous for their Sakes; besides these his considerations, his lawfull gatherings and layings up, might be hindered; in that he lived splendidly on the troop pay or allowances afores$^{d}$, and on the yearly products of his own money Stock, for his Lord's further credit (as he perchance then thought), In so much that carrying great Sailes, and Steering his Course in the fair Weather, and gales of his Lord and lady's favor and demeaning himself obligeingly and gentily in his conver-

sation and haveing commendation for honest and Prudent Managements, I say under these circumstances, and the Prospect men had of his arriveing to a good harbour of Advancem^t, He was Coveted for an husband by divers women, who had good fortunes (and indeed both for personage, features and breeding he was gen^ly desireable of that Sex) for a match: and he might have had a very Rich one in London (as I have often credibly heard told and believed) but his dearest Lord was his best beloved, and he would not leave him in that citty to Look after a new Serv^t, No not to gain a wife and much money too. And this was According to an axiom he held (and w^ch I heard him maintaine by discours) that every Gentleman (especially Private ones) should have some Potent Personage of y^e Nobility (if of kinn the better) to bee his friend, to scarr men from Atempting Injurys, and unto whom he may resorte for protection, when wronged: And to take shelter under his cover, in stormy times; it being necessary (sayd hee) and prudent also to conciliate (at least) the bon Graces of Great men, if they be good men and truely noble, otherwise to keep aloof from them.*

I now come to the woefull Month of September 1663 wherein death parted our dearest Lord (the first Earle of Mount Alex^r) from us all: whose Hugh had been watchfully and carefully tender of his L^rp in his last great Sickness in Dublin and in his lethargy in the Contry, whereof he dyed and expired in his Armes. So he enjoyed and deserved Still his s Title, and was Respected for it, as I now come to recount.

Our late Earle's Funerall (at w^ch, next before the Hers, walked the Defunct's Secretary, Dudley Loftus, and on his right hand y^e s^d Lord's late Hugh, in deep mourning) being solemnly performed, wee went with our new Earle to Dublin, and the s^d Hugh was received into y^e king's troop of Guards, w^th great expectations of Preferment in y^e army; being well known to y^e Duke of Orm^d and all his sonns, and household, who regarded him as y^e late Earle's Kinsman, and quondam Chief Servant.

But his Grace going into England, and Govern^rs being changed, and the s^d Hu: getting no Suitable Post offered him, He quitt y^e Guards, and lived in our Contry. w^th his very good wife a near relation of Kindred by y^e Earle of Clanbrassil, with whose Countess y^e s^d Hu: was acquainted, when his late Lord visited Mellifont, or sent him thither, and when She was in Dublin.

This Hugh's last martial employ was a com^n from the Prince of Orange for being Cap^t of a foot Company, which he raised and Armed the best could be done in 1688.

These last two lines were an interjection, and I must reeurr to the Series of this Narration.

* The reasons for and grounds of that singular sort of connexion between the junior branches of ennobled families and their seniors of the same house, whereby the former acted in the capacity of body servants to the latter, are here succinctly and quaintly given. The narrative affords more than one amusing illustration of the consequences of this relationship. Although now unknown, it was, as we may readily understand, not altogether unproductive of advantage in the stormy times wherein it existed.

Mr James Montgomery afores[d] his arrears of Pay as Chaplain to the s[d] Regim[t], and the s[d] Samuel's also as L[t] to the said S[r] James Montgomery's troop, for the time he served therein, being by me (out of my Love to the s[d] Hugh my fellow-traveller in the usurping lines) on our king's restauration, carefully gott Stated to advantage, as from first to Last of the Service; without trouble or cost to him, the s[d] Hugh joined the Debentures, for the same, into the Lott of debt due to his wive's unkle Cap[tn] William Hamilton of Erinagh, for Satisfaction whereof a lott of credit was drawn of Houses in Gallway, and lands within the mile line of y[e] River Shannon. And then the s[d] Hugh was invited by his said unkle to manage the whole lott for them both; and to have a good allowance for agency, and y[e] worth of her marriage Portion, joyned contiguous to the satisfaction of the s[d] Arreares of Pay, and to have conveniencys for himself and his wife to live on, added thereunto, wh[ch] (for his encouragement to accept) y[e] s[d] Invitation should be his own.

But:

The s[d] Hu: desireing to be the 2[d] Earle's Hugh (as he had been his father's) and his wife (as I may presume) enclineing rather to be near her mother, brother, sister, unkle also, and other kindred then afarr off among strangers, therefore y[e] s[d] Hu: came and told me the said offers, that were made to him, for seteing his Fortune in and about Gallway afores[d], but withall said he would first tender his Service to our Earle, and prayd me to know if his Lo[p] would employ him: I did propose the Matter with full friendship because I thought him fitt to be imployed, besides he deserved kindness at my hand.

Then about y[e] latter end of 1667 (as I now think,) the s[d] Hu: was made receiver of the s[d] Earles' Rents (the common people calling him the factor, as they doe such agents in Scotland) and afterwards he was Seneschall to all his Courts, upon Cap[t] John Montg. (the late Earle's Cosen German) his waveing to accept that office, and his speaking to his Lo[p] in favor of the s[d] Hugh; whom I believe to have been Just in his acc[ts] though I was not put to Audite them: but I have the foot of one of them which I think faire, and have not heard him taxed to the contrary which his maligners would not have omitted had there been Umbrage for it.

The s[d] Hu: (now twice or thrice dipt to be called my L[d's] Hugh again) was diligent in y[r] Sonn's, as he had been in the father's bussiness, as every looker on might see.

I will mention one Material instance thereof; for he came to me A[o] 1699 at Rosem[t] and brought a Letter from his Lord (wh[ch] I have) praying me to Supersede our Sheriff Mr W[m] Waring, who had entered his Lo[p's] Lands to levy Subsidys and Crown Rents suffered (for about 4 or 5 years before then) to runn in Arreare, this was in his Lo[p's] minority, out of which he was not gone till above two yeares after this time.

I was much perswaded by y[e] s[d] Hu: to write and signe the s[d] Supersedeas, and to comitt the same to his Speedy Management, wh[ch] wold putt off the present Great Mischeif that was coming on his Lo[ps] tennants by y[r] s[d] Sheriff's Gen[ll] distraining them.

Hee was importunate for his Lord's Concern, tho I shewed my grounds of fear, that, I should be left in y^e^ sudds, by reason of his Lop's minority, but I dreaded most to be imposed upon by on^r^ nighbour Earle, when I should be charged to Leavy his Lo^r's^ like Arrears, wh^ch^ at this time was put off by my said Supersedias. I was much swayd by my Lord's Hugh's Earnestness, but compassion mooved me most, to prevent that imminent Storm from falling on y^e^ Earle's tennants, because these poore Sheep paid their fleeces, and what had they done to incurr the Slashes of an Exchequer Sword.

My Lord's Hugh lived these yeares at Cuningburn and in Newtown, till much about y^e^ time (if I remember aright) that our Earle was 21 yeares of Age viz. A° 1671, and then his Lo^p^ appointing Coms^rs^ for the affaires of his Estate and debts, the s^d^ Hugh tho nominated one of them would not be concerned therein, because that clashing against him might arise from Cap^tn^ H. M. and his nephew H. C. (likewise named one Com^r^) for their horses had stood in Severall Stables before this time. Therefore he came to live at Ballymagown, where he built and planted, as you now See: his Purchase thereof haveing been made formerly, wherein he gratifyd y^e^ possessor by 100£ for his consent: as he did gain the good will of another person in his Purchase of Bally Limp, and in other concerns wh^ch^ he hath in fee farm paying Small cheifry to his wives' kindred. S^r^ Robert Hamilton and his son, Mr. Hans, who by his mother is heir of S^r^ Hans Hamilton Barronet, as to his Lands tho not to his title of Honor at that time.

It is now seasonable to speak of his wife and their Children (the pretty modells of themselves) tho but briefly, and then of his parts and enjoym^ts^, concluding with some remarks, which some may say are Superfluous (because he is well known and trusted) but what is that to me? who intend the Satisfaction of those Montgomerys that Live afarr off in other countrys, seldom (if ever) meeting, thereby knowing much less than wee his neighbours doo, besides this I would have mine and neighbour's posterity know him as I have done.

Therefore be it known that this our Lord's Hu: his very good wife died before our troubles, which came on us in A° 1688, God takeing her from the ensueing Evils, her body is interred (with some of her children near it) in his burying place, about the pulpit in Gray abby church, to the new roofing whereof himself contributed very cheerfully the sum of five pounds S^terling money.

Their issue liveing are first M^r^ Hans Montgomery the eldest, a good Preacher (as his Grandfather M^r^ James was) Hee is, Parson of Killinshee, Vicar of Ballywalter, and Curate of Grayabby Parishes, and hath them well Served: his residence (being hitherto unmarryd) is at Ballymagown with his father, and his Ministration of God's word and Sacram^ts^ is at Gray abby and Ballywalter by turns.

There is Elizabeth, wife of Cap^tn^ Johnston, commander of a foot Company in the Standing Army in Ireland, this gen^tl^ raised himself to this post by his Services in Flanders, to which he and

his company is now remanded, with whom his tender said wife is gone, Ledd by the intireness and perfection of congugall Matrimoniall Love.

Also Hugh, a proper tall Gen$^{tl}$ who served in y$^{e}$ army dureing the warr ag$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Ireish, and then in the Duke of Ormond's troop of horse Guards in Flanders and Engl$^{d}$. Hee is a well bred grave man, of good Reading and discours, free he is of all Camp or guarison Vices, his father at first sent him to Sea and he was twice in America, and is now with the said Guards to push his fortune away beyond our seas. Hee is now (A° 1702 in May) marryed to a Frenchman's widdow, a good fortune to him.

Next is Hamilton Montgomery, he served in Co$^{l}$ Russell's troop who had a love and care for him, he being young, makeing him Comarade to his Son of like age, and that Regim$^{t}$ being broke, hew as an Ensigne and is now a Lieu$^{t}$ to foot; he is by his Aspect and voice more like a soldier of Venus than Mars (tho fit for both their camps). He is not above two years marryed to M$^{rs}$ Grace Ronane Eldest daughter of a Gen$^{tl}$ of good extraction, and hath a good portion, her unkle enjoying y$^{e}$ estate, and hath encreased the number of the Montgomerys, and hath reconciled and reduced his wife with her mother and sister to the Protestant Church Established by Law.

There is Katherin marryed to M$^{r}$ Barnard Brett of Ballynewport in Leeahill, both the said named Sisters are good wives, and have kind husbands (which is a sign of wives' complaeency) their father consenting to their Wedlocks, and giveing his blessing to them.

James is the 4$^{th}$ son, a pregnant witty schollar, this yeare 1701 is his 4th in the University of Dublin.

Jean the 3$^{d}$ Daughter resembles her mother. She is discreet and marriageable.

Samuel, y$^{e}$ 5$^{th}$ son hath been kept severall years abroad at y$^{e}$ Latin school, he may be a merchant, to which mistery haveing prepared himself by learning Arithmetick (as he has done a fair hand in writeing) he is now entered an apprentise, and if he chance to be infortunate in these Arts he will make a stout soldier (the males all resembling their father in Courage), to which he is more inclined than to study for a Bishoprick.

Eleanor, the youngest is comely (as they all are) and more, she is entered into her teens and no doubt will be Looked for.

In short they are all well-conditioned, and dutyfully humble and observant towards their father, lovers of their Relations, and courteous to others.

The fruitful Mother of them all was Mrs. Jean Hamilton, eldest sister of James of Carnesure, Esq$^{r}$ (a well spoken man) hee had a good estate wh$^{ch}$ is now faln to his young (only) daughter, to whom (if she dy without children) the s$^{d}$ Lord's Hugh's eldest Son, and M$^{r}$ George Ross his heire (the offspring of the s$^{d}$ Esq$^{r's}$ other Sister) will succeed as next of Kinn.

The Said Mother was an Excellent wife and housekeeper, not loseing (by neglect) any profit wh$^{ch}$ y$^{e}$ Garden, Dairy, or Flock yeelded (and the product was Valuable) more than served her plentyfull household and table.

She brought a considerable marriage Portion (called togher good in Scotland) and managed her Matters with Discretion. Shee was of a cheerfull humor, and sometimes in joak of her many children (most of wh^ch^ were young when she dyed) said they were her small profitts: on which occasion I once told her that they were all perquisitts of matrimony (wh^ch^ she had contracted) and belonged to her as her own act and deed; that they were of God's sending as his blessings, and in time would be beneficiall Servants to her.

Her husband (as I heard said) converted her from attending her mother to the Presbiterian Meetings (for she lived after marriage severall months with her) when himself was in the Guards at Dublin under the hopefull expectation afores^d^) to be a constant conformist to our true Protestant Church established by Law (as well as her children are) an happy man was he in that, and her, with whom and them I have often communicated at our Lord's holy Table. She was Sincerely Pious and bred her children to fear God, and Reverence their father, and Shewed them good examples of Industry; not Suffering them to be idle, yet still to go neat in their apparal: it was admirable to see with what gravity and attention her youngest girls sat in church (to wh^ch^ shee took them in her Cullosh, herself driveing the same exactly well, so they could make no excuse to stay at home,) for she had them all Still in good Order, chiefly on the Lord's day; as if they had been dressed to go to a Wedding, as brides maids, or to a christning as Partners.

Haveing thus touched upon mother and children, I will not yett pass by himself (my fellow traveller, kinsman, and friend) in Silence but will not say many things of him, lest I be esteemed too fond or a Partial Panegyrick.

First then, as to his outward parts, his stature is of a middle proportion; His Complexion Ruddy, and his Skin white; His Nerves Strong and Agile (considering his age, which is past his Grand Climacterick). He wears no wigg, His Haire is mous-colored, the intermingling white ones not being near equall to y^e^ Rest. His countenance is Spritely and cheerfull, yet can weare a frown when needfull: his eyes quick gray and piercing; his body and Limbs Shapely, and he wears his habits neately, wh^ch^ are not cours but plain: he is early in going to bed and up rising from it, his hours not being so late as tenn for the one nor after Six for the other: his temperam^t^ is a Right Sanguine, Seasoned with Choller, yet his body (now in its declining state) is subject to Rheumatisms and the grievous Gout. As to his Mind (so far as an Estimate may be made thereof from his Actions, and the tree is best known by the fruits) it is Generous as his Circumstances will permitt, which have not brought him into any debt. It is a lover of Gentile and civil company which it will cherish mostly in his own house, in wh^ch^: it delighteth to keep neat rooms and a Constant orderly table, and well stored Sellers. So that a gentleman coming before or after meale time, never or Seldom can miss of Souced or other cold meat: and for y^e^ bread, butter, cheese, and good liquor, they are always at hand with an hearty wellcom to Gentlemen; and hospitality to the needy. His mind is not a wanderer or astray, but is fixed to becoming Principles. It abhors durty or mean things, or

ways; it cannot endure to hear of any honest civil Gentleman's being traduced, or slighted for his Age or Poverty, for he thinks no man (tho' rich in money or lands) to be a gentle without honesty and curtesy: It stirrs up his indignation to censure (above board) any wrongs done, and will not lett him stand to tell the faulty person thereof, when they next meet (if the matter be worth an home reproof) but will not give it in his own house; thus he prevents his words from being misreported and shows a friendship and an Ardor becoming a Gentleman. Its love, where Setled or promised) is dureable, and shows itself in good effects, whereof his Advices given (when desired) and sometimes (if need be) unasked, are not the least obligeing proofs of it. It ever had a compassionate pitty for indigent boys, that were towardly willing to serve a gentleman honestly; especially if they were born of Gentile parents. I will name but one of many he hath preferred, by his recommendation. Hee is John Franks, whose father was Provest Martiall in Tangiers, and his Mother a Sutler there; the boy knew not well where to get meat, or Lodging in Dublin, but by pence he gained in Singing ballads, or witty songs: him he got to our young Earle's Service, for a diversion to his Lo$^{pp's}$ Melancholy, and he did thrive so well therein that he was rich and well marryed to a fair gentlewoman with a fortune before he left it.

He hath trained up all his children Vertuously, continuing (as their mother did) to instruct them in their Agenda, in which he hath not failed to infuse the dutys of the fifth command wh$^{ch}$ hath the motive (St. Paul calls it promise) Annexed, and he hath Suitable observances rendered him, when other (Remiss or too Indulgent) parents, have their sons and daughters great crosses and disgraces to them, for want of this Care. And yet he is not Severe to grieve them, or to let them want Education and decent Apparell, and fitting Liberty of visiting their kindred.

He keeps a Just and requisite hand over his Servants also, which makes them obedient, watchfull, and dutifull, and So to like him that I knew not of any that left his Service till death or wedlock parted them.

In a word, I doe not see a more orderly regular household any where, without cursing swearing, obscenity, Gameing, and debauchery, each one being industrious, and yet without noise.

Good useage and Awe; makes hors his plow draw.

And he so began with theeves and trespassers, that ever Since the rush bush keeps his grass and cattle safely. When the children were very young (and therefore wittless yet) they were not heard or Seen to Ramble or make a stirr, in so much that the Guests thought they were put out of the house, and would aske where they were kept, and they were still made ready for appearance before they were called for.

I have heard him say concerning Children's clandestine marriages to this purpose, that they were fools to conceale their fixed resolutions from their Parents, who Surely would make the best bargains for them: And for his owne part toward them, he would straine and bind them (not by any Severitys) to accept his choice for them; so (for the love sake he had to their mother) he would

not altogether deny his consent to y^e^ Matches they made for themselves, if tollerably Reasonable; altho' he could not give his approbation nor the full kindness and Portion he intended, had they asked his Council and concurrence.

He had often observed the Mischeifs of Suffering such breaches of Duty to goe unpunished, and knew of miserys attending such precipitations in a leape wh^ch^ many times is made but once in one's Life.

He was not to learn that Ladds' loves and Lasses' Likeings wanted solid foundations, and Strong Cement to make Congugal affections dureable, and that the Honeymonth would soon be over, when both, or either of y^e^ marryed Party's condition of liveing changed to y^e^ wors, or became less Splendid than it was formerly, giveing thus occasions enough to Repent at Leizure their Rash inconsiderate Haste and Follie, for which easy or speedy Pardons and Reconciliations were not to be expected nor must be given.

Therefore hee seeing some late examples in neighbouring and Related familys, Hee did openly and Smartly (on occasion discoursing thereof) display the undutyfullness and imprudence of such Practises, expressing his high Detestation and Anger ag^t^ them yet without threatenings, condemning the fault *in Thesi*, onely, as not haveing grounds (wh^ch^ I hope he never shall have) to feare the like from any of his own well-educated offspring: for (as he used to say) Manners makes the Man.

His Skill in Husbandry is seen to Excell his neighbours (even those whose trade it is and Livelyhood); and he Cultivates his mind (whereof I have spoken in part) by reading good classical authors, in Divinity and History; haveing studyed all sorts of mankind formerly, as he yet doth new acquaintances (wherof he is not fond), which exercises are (for the most part) the Recreations for his whole compositum or Person, to which may be added his Reception of Visitants which recurrs frequently.

I cannot wholly pass by the Lord's Hugh's past and present Enjoym^ts^. I will only mention a few of the least of them.

Imprimis (besides his obedient offspring, etc. before expressed) Hee had a triple Love for him, or was beloved of Three persons, the chiefest in y^e^ Montgomery family of the Great Ardes: viz. the first and 2^d^ Earles, and of myself. He was loved also of y^e^ Viscountess Dowager, and of Cap^tn^ Geo. (their Lo^p's^ unkl) and his Sonns: Especially he was affected by Cap^tn^ John afores^d^ y^e^ younger deceased, (as he is still by the elder called Ballylessan) and his Son Hercules his heire, and by my Son also, and hath the Respects of the Earle and his brother, and that family as he hath of his neighbours, and of their acquaintances near and farr off. I said that this Earle was with him at Ballymagowne, and hath seen him three divers times Since then.

Among all whom (unless I should put in a by for myself) I cannot Equall any of their loves for him unto that of his first and dearest Lords (whose memory he almost Idolizes, giveing his Lo^p^

preference in his esteem Clerical and Laick, if words and praises can confer that honor), for;—

His s^d L^d (I really think it) had more affection for this his Hugh than for all the three Cap^ts Hughs viz: Shaw, Montgomery, and M^cGill, tho he had advanced them in more lucrative stationary employm^s, but this Hugh's promotion was hindered by y^e death of his Lo^p: who (I doubt it not) entirely affected him: otherwise his Lo^p: had not excused and forgiven some of his errors (No young man wanting them altogether) nor had not owned and Supported him ag^t the envyous Intrigues wh^ch were contrived and sett on foot to disgrace and discard him, by Some persons, both within and without doors of his Lo^p's houshold.

This Hugh also enjoys this good fortune, that he is not Ey Sore to any of our family or others by his Present Possessions and Acquests: Seeing he hath made his Purchases among the Hamilton's, his wives said kindred, Fairely (as must be confessed) for he always had and still retains the Love and Respects of them all; he not takeing any Part or Sideing in their differences. Neither hath he had Law Suites ag^t him, nor hath he moved Suites ag^t men, but lived without giveing or receiveing disturbances, worth the while to be named. So that now it may be inferred from the premises alone, (wthout help of what may be further said of him) that this Hugh hath enjoyed and been M^r of a considerable stock of Humane Prudence, wh^ch is another happy enjoym^t or possession.

It is needless therefore, and because he is of Age and able (by his actions) to speak for himself, as it is Superfluous, to recount and to tell y^e Readers of his, the s^d Hugh's Orchards, Warrens, Dove Coats, and his other buildings wh^ch are obvious to all Passengers.

On these contemplations I am withdrawing my pen, leaving all other things needful to be inserted in this Hugh's fuller History and character by his S^d Eldest Sonn, who may learn Enough of matter (whereof I am ignorant) from his (I mean his Father's) own mouth, to be a supplem^t hereunto; I haveing been brief therein: and perhapps a little disremembered in the points of time (whereof I kept no dyary) or have been, it may be, otherwise mistaken, unwillingly: praying that all my Errata (if any) in the foregoing pages may be Corrected and Amended: for I am Confident that no one thing in any of them, doth deserve to be Expunged or Omitted, for inveracity or redundancy. Yet I desire my writeing may be taken complexly (and not to be crumbled into atoomes) because I shall be best understood So: and for that I have bestowed some pains by this Picture (wh^ch: is like him in all the lines drawn therein) to represent him to his Posterity and my own, as worthy their diligent imitation, in all his Vertues herein recited. Therefore I come now to a Conclusion, not heeding to Enlarge this Short narrative, by discanting on this Hugh's actions, in his Severall other Capacitys and Stations of Justice for the Peace, Com^r for the Array, Subsidys, and Pole monys, in all wh^ch he served his King and Contry as worthy of approbation.

Neither will I tire the Reader, by telling him all might be Said Concerning this Hugh's and my own travells by Land and Water together: and of our being Contemporarys (as it were neighbours) these very many years past, meeting of later Yeares (Since our residences came to be So

neare as they are) almost Constantly on Lord's day in our Heavenly Father's house, partaking of His Word and Holy Table therein at due Seasons. Nor will I mention what may be Said of our haveing been together in our own habitations and Publiq Inns frequently: nor what Jollity, harmless drollery, mirth and good Company we have had at Such meetings: or how free we were then to take good Liquor (wh$^{ch}$: gladdens the heart of mankind), but let it be remembred, wee still parted friends, as wee mett: nor will I rehearse any of our other occurrances. Yett lett it be known, that tho' I am now in the last paragraph of these memoires; I must not withhold or Suffer to be forgotten a piece of this beloved Hugh's Character, given of him when he was our present Earle of Mount Alexander's Agent, and all eys open and upon him, to observe him. I say given of him by L$^{t}$ W$^{m}$ Montgomery and approoved by y$^{e}$ Contray, viz:

Whereas the s$^{d}$ Lieu$^{t}$ (who was a Jocose Ingenious discerning Gen$^{tl}$ and a good fellow) had made his Remarks freely on many men (great and small fish falling into his nett); He called one Gen$^{tl}$ the Fox, another he stiled a Wolf, a third he termed a Weesel, for humble insinuations and activity to suck and gett favor and profitt: and such like Epithets he gave of the rest wh$^{ch}$: hitt patt Enough; but Speaking of this Hugh, he Said, my Lord's Hu deserved to be called the Lyon; for he acted generously, his nature being to have a Noble Anger, according to Lyons, viz: Parcere Subjectis et debellare Superbos

Yett this is not all; for this Hugh still was and is fitt and ready to make Peace, by Compromises (when desired) between nighbours and Kindred Relations.

My Sonn and I (with firm Confidence and on good Grounds of Knowledge) choose him a Feoffee in Trust, in our mutuall Settlements of our Estates made to each other: in which he was mainly consulted; and by another writeing, Hee is one (even y$^{e}$ cheefest relyd on) Arbitrator to determine differences, if any sh$^{d}$ chance to arise between us (as there hath been none, nor are any Likely to bee moved by Either of us) Praised be God for it.

So that for a Conclusion of all the Premises (wh$^{ch}$ I think are sufficient to be remembered at this time) I will now take the Liberty to claim again a Joynt title to him, as I Quondam had, and have not forfeited it, viz. to call him our beloved Hugh, whom and all his I wish ever well to fare, and doo in particular desire that he may See my Earthly remains lodged in their proper prepared resting Place: as I have often told him my hopes were he wold doe it, without Expectation of being invited by a buriall lett$^{r}$, for nice Ceremonys were always needless between us; tho' mutual respective differences were never wanting.

Fineally as a Valediction to y$^{e}$ Reader (if he be an Envious or Carping Momus) I say

Rode Caper! vitem; tamen, Hic eum stabis ad Aras,
In tua, Quod fundi, Cornua possit Erit.

Mr. James Montgomery's Arms, and Epithet, and a Metáphorical Epitaph on him are to be

Seen painted on a board hanging neare the Pulpit in Gray Abby Church, or in my treatise of funeralls, and is here inserted as followeth, viz—

Predoctus, fidelis, et Strenuus Evangelii Præco Jacobus Montgomery gen.
in Artibus Magister (Ex familia de Hasilhead in Scotia oriundus)
Militi Aurato (Ejusdem utriusque nominis) Curator Animarum, vigilantissimus,
Cujus Spiritus migravit (e terris in Cœlis) Deo datori 7° Martii Anno
A Christo nato 1647, Corpus autem (Sub Cathedra Veritatis) hic jacet
Sepultum, Posteritasque Conditur in Spe Ἀναστάσεως.
Epitaphium Metaphoricum.
Occidit hic (mirum!) nulla sol nocte secuta.
This Sunn hath Sett and yett no night Ensued:
No wonder! for God here his light renew'd.
Posuit amicus L.M. A° Mundo Taxato 1692.

*(To be continued.)*

# THE ROUND TOWERS OF IRELAND

AND

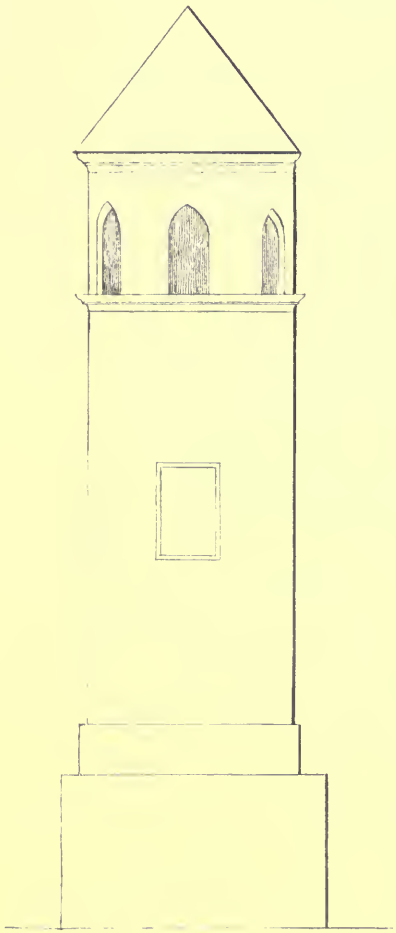
# THE FRENCH "FANAUX DE CIMETIERE."

By HODDER M. WESTROPP.

Mr. Fergusson, in his *Handbook of Architecture*, remarks that Dr. Petrie's argument with regard to the Round Towers only removes the difficulty one step further back, as he does not attempt to show whence the Irish obtained this very remarkable form of tower; and adds, that any one who has seen the towers must feel that there is still room for any amount of speculation regarding such peculiar monuments. In reading De Caumont's *Cours d' Antiquités Monumentales*, I have been struck with a very remarkable analogy between the Irish Round Tower and what is named in De Caumont's work, a "Fanal de Cimetière," a beacon of a cemetery, or lantern of the dead; which has led me to add another speculation to the already long list, and to infer that the Irish Round Towers derive their origin from France, and that they were erected in cemeteries as memorials of the dead, and were used as beacons to guide funeral processions to the churchyards, the lights in the tower serving also as a signal to recall to the passers-by the presence of the departed spirit, and to invoke their prayers. The following is De Caumont's description of them:—"Fanaux de Cimetière are hollow towers, round or square, having at their summit several openings, in which were

placed in the middle ages, [12th and 13th centuries] lighted lamps, in the centre of large cemeteries. The purpose of the lamp was to light, during the night, funeral processions which came from afar, and which could not always reach the burial-ground before the close of day. The beacon, lighted, if not always, at least on certain occasions, at the summit of the towers, was a sort of homage offered to the memory of the dead, a signal recalling to the passers-by the presence of the departed, and calling upon them for their prayers. And M. Villegille has found in Pierre de Cluni, who died in 1156, a passage which confirms my opinion. These are the words in which he expresses himself with regard to the small tower of the beacon at the monastery of Cherlieu:—'Obtinet medium cemeterii locum structura quadam lapidea, habens in summitate sui quantitatem unius lampadis capacem, quæ, ob venerentiam fidelium ibi quiescentium, totis noctibus fulgore suo locum illum sacratum illustrat.' M. Le Cointre Dupont remarks that these towers or beacons are found particularly in cemeteries which were by the side of high roads, or which were situated in much frequented places. The motive for erecting these beacons was, he says, to save the living from the fear of ghosts and spirits of darkness, with which the imagination of our ancestors peopled the cemeteries during the night time; to protect them from that *timore nocturno*, from that *negotio perambulante in tenebris* of which the Psalmist speaks; lastly, to incite the living to pray for the dead. As to the origin of these sepulchral towers, and of the chapels surmounted by towers (which I shall mention further on) nothing certain is known. Le Cointre thinks that they are of very ancient origin, and can be traced perhaps to the early period of Christianity. Without disputing this opinion, which would require to be confirmed by authorities which I am not in a position to produce, I think that it was about the 12th century, consequently about the time of the Crusades, that the greater number of these erections were built; for among those which remain, I know of none to which an earlier date can be assigned than that of the end of the 11th century, and many are of the 13th. If we are to judge by those which remain, few sepulchral chapels surmounted by towers were built after the 13th century. Some of these, which were rebuilt in the 14th and 15th centuries, took the form of a high tower: such is the tower of Puyberland, at Bordeaux, not far from the Cathedral. This very high tower was commenced in 1481, and finished in 1492; but it has succeeded or was built upon a sepulchral chapel, for it is known that in 1397, the base on which it was built was used as a sepulchral vault, and that over this vault was a chapel, in which canons celebrated mass. The belfry of St. Michel, in the same town, which has a sepulchral vault at its base, and which is of the 15th century (1480), has been perhaps also built over some similar vault; it is detached from the church, and is in the midst of a plot of ground which formed the ancient cemetery." De Caumont thus describes one of the towers at Antigny, near St. Savin, in the department of Vienne: "It is in the middle of a square before the parish church, which evidently formed part of the ancient cemetery, for it is almost completely paved with tomb-stones. Four square windows, turned towards the east, west, north, and south, open under its roof, at the summit of the tower;

it was there the light was placed; the door was at some distance from the ground." He then mentions others: "The Fanal of Fenioux is in the cemetery of that village, at a hundred paces distance from the church, opposite to the south door. The Fanal of Estrées occupies nearly the centre of a large plot of ground, to the south of which is the ancient road from Buzançais to Polluan, and to the north of which are the remains of the parish church of Estrées, a building of the 11th century, the choir of which is still remaining. This plot of ground was formerly the burial-ground of the parish. The tower is built on an octagonal basement; the height is 8 metres 30 centimetres. The Fanal of Ciron is 150 metres from the church of the village, and, like that of Estrées, in the centre of a large cemetery. The Fanal of Terigny l'Evêque was also in a cemetery, about 300 paces distant from the church, near which passed the ancient road which, according to M. Demazy, was the old way which led from Mans to the Roman Camp at Songé. It is terminated by a conical roof; its four windows are turned towards the four cardinal points. Its height is 14 metres 70 centimetres." He adds: "I could also mention several other towers, pointed out by different authors, which ought to be assigned to the class of building which I have indicated."



The preceding description, it must be allowed, bears a very striking resemblance to everything that is characteristic of the Irish Round Towers, and would, I think, lead to the conviction that there must be some connecting link between these and the "Fanaux," and that their purpose must have been almost identical. They were both used for sepulchral purposes; they were erected as memorials of the dead in cemeteries; they were placed in church-yards unsymmetrically at some little distance from the churches; they were built in much frequented places (such as, in Ireland, Clonmacnoise, Glendalough, &c.); their four windows at the summit face the four cardinal points; the doors, too, are at some distance from the ground, evidently for the purpose of raising a ladder through the door into the tower. The towers are also of the same period, the 11th and 12th centuries, and never later than the 13th; finally, there is a tradition

in Ireland that they were used as beacons. I cannot but think that there is, in both classes of towers, a similarity of principle as well as of form; for we find that in the dark ages the same superstitious customs were practised in different countries. The early Christians, particularly those who were converted from Paganism, frequently adopted and introduced (as has been the case in Italy) Pagan customs and practices into the Christian religion; and it would be but natural to suppose that the custom of lighting a lamp in a tower in honour of the dead (a Pagan custom) was introduced into Ireland from France; for, as Dr. Petrie argues with regard to the use of lime cement in religious edifices, a knowledge of this custom may have been imparted by the crowds of foreign ecclesiastics who flocked to Ireland as a place of refuge in the 5th and 6th centuries. We know that St. Patrick was a Frenchman by birth, and was educated in France; a great number of St. Patrick's disciples were also foreigners. St. Declan (who, it is said, built the tower at Ardmore) travelled in Italy; St. Columbanus also travelled in France. Virgilius in the 8th century was born in Ireland, and like most of his countrymen at that period who were distinguished for learning, left his own country and passed into France. St. Malachy consecrated several cemeteries, and re-built many structures, "post ejus reditum è locis transmarinis." In fine, there was in the early periods a constant intercommunication between Ireland and France, particularly with regard to religious dogmas and practices. That the towers were erected in Irish cemeteries, too, as memorials of the dead, we have a kind of evidence from an apocryphal document of the 14th century. In the registry of Clonmacnoise, translated for Sir James Ware, we find it stated that "O'Rourke hath for a *monument* built a small castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish *Claigthough*, as a *memorial of his own part of that cemetarie*." Its being called here a "steeple" is, of course, in conformity with the common opinion. A tower as a belfry would be very little to the purpose there; but a tower as a monument and memorial in honour of the dead would be in its proper place in a cemetery. It is, therefore, not surprising to find *two* round towers and several sepulchral chapels in that single cemetery, for Clonmacnoise was celebrated as being the burial-place of several Irish chiefs. Dr. Petrie also admits "that we shall find it difficult to resist the conclusion that the towers would be used at night as beacons to attract and guide the benighted traveller or pious pilgrim to the house of prayer or hospitality. *Their fitness for such a purpose must be at once obvious.*" He then quotes the opinion of Dr. Lingard to the same effect, that they were used as "beacons to direct the traveller towards the church or monastery. Lights were kept burning in them during the night, at least such was the fact with respect to the new tower at Winchester, which, we learn from Wolstan, consisted of five stories, in each of which were four windows looking towards the four cardinal points, that were illuminated every night." Dr. Hibbert Ware also considers this the only rational theory on the subject. Dr. Petrie adduces a further evidence in the description of the *pharos* or beacon-tower of the Irish monastery of St. Columbanus in Luxovium, now Luxeuil in Burgundy, mentioned in Mabillon's *Iter Germanicum:* "Cernitur prope majorem Ecclesiæ portam Pharos, quam Lucernam vocant, cujus om-

nium consimilem vidi aliquando apud Carnutas. Ei usui fuisse videtur, in gratiam eorum qui nocte ecclesiam frequentabantur." Mr. Fergusson, when mentioning, in his *Handbook of Architecture*, the round towers which are described in the plan of the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, remarks the similarity of their position and form to that of the Irish round towers, which, he suggests, was in compliment to the Irish saint to whom the monastery owed its origin. He adds, "no mention is made of bells." I can never accede to the theory that the towers were built for belfries: in the first place, on account of their unsymmetrical position with regard to the churches they are near; secondly, because at Brechin in Scotland there is a round tower near the church, and also a belfry in its usual position close to the church-door; at Swords (Co. of Dublin) also, there is a round tower, as well as a belfry, in the same church-yard; and at Lusk (in the same county) there is a round tower with a steeple close to it. If the round tower was built for a belfry, what would be the use of building a belfry close to the tower at a later period? I must say that I cannot but agree with Dr. O'Conor in thinking that the *cloictheachs* or belfries, mentioned in the Irish Annals quoted by Dr. Petrie, could not be the present round towers, which are built of stone. The *cloictheachs*, from there being so frequently burned, must have been of wood, like the oratories. Dr. Petrie admits that the custom of building oratories of wood was continued in Ireland even down to the twelfth century; "but," he adds, "the strongest evidences in favour of the conclusion that the *duirtheachs* were usually of wood, are those supplied by the Irish Annals, which so frequently record the burning of this class of buildings by the Northmen, while the *daimhliags* (stone buildings) escaped the flames." If we apply similar reasoning to the frequent burning of *cloictheachs*, we must be led to the conclusion that they also must have been of wood.

Sepulchral or Mortuary Chapels.—De Caumont describes these in the following words: "Sometimes the *Fanaux* have been replaced by sepulchral chapels, surmounted by a hollow tower and a beacon. Sepulchral chapels were evidently for the same purpose as the towers, for they too had beacons at their summit; they might also have been used for the purpose of exposing the bodies of the deceased before burial, for celebrating mass, and for other purposes the memory of which has passed away. I know but one in a state of preservation,—that of the ancient cemetery of the nuns of Fonterault. It is square. From the summit of the stone roof of the building arises a hollow tower of 4 or 5 metres high, bearing a lantern at its summit; each face of the lantern is pierced with an opening, a conical roof covers the whole, and in the interior the chapel is vaulted. The date is 1223." St. Kevin's kitchen (at Glendalough) would seem to answer this description; and thus, if the analogy which I have suggested between the two be correct, St. Kevin's kitchen would be a stone roofed sepulchral chapel, surmounted by a tower, which was used as a beacon, like the "fanal de cimetière," or beacon of a cemetery. It would not, I think, be an improbable conjecture that

the several churches built at Clonmacnoise by Irish kings and petty princes were sepulchral chapels.[a]

Crosses of Cemeteries.—In De Caumont's work I remark a further analogy to Irish antiquities in his description of "Crosses of Cemeteries," which, I think, is an additional proof that there was some connecting link between France and Ireland with regard to both these structures. His words are:—"Crosses of Cemeteries, or crosses erected in the centre of church-yards, are also objects deserving of study, when they are ancient; for I am persuaded that during the middle ages, they have, in many burial-grounds, taken the place of the towers of which I have spoken: at the present day, they have taken their place in numerous sites. The most ancient that I know of are of the 12th or about the end of the 11th century. They are most frequently simple crosses inclosed in a circle, and raised on a square or cylindrical pedestal. In Brittany, crosses have been erected on which are sculptured rather complicated groups of figures, and of a workmanship the more remarkable as they are worked in granite." Crosses like those first mentioned are found in several ancient church-yards in Ireland The cross over the door of the round tower at Antrim bears a resemblance to those ancient French crosses. Crosses like those in Brittany are likewise to be met with at Monasterboice, Clonmacnoise, and other places in this country.

We cannot but be led to the conclusion, that there must have been some connection between France and Ireland as regards these towers, oratories, and crosses; for how otherwise are we to account for the singular coincidence that in ancient Irish burial-grounds we frequently find a group composed of a round tower, an oratory, and a cross, and that in ancient French cemeteries we find an analogous and corresponding group, composed of a "fanal" or beacon tower, a sepulchral chapel, and a cross. Some, indeed, may suppose that, on the contrary, the idea of these towers may have been received from Ireland by France; but I think this suggestion could not be admissible, as it is more in uniformity with the course of events that the tide of knowledge should flow from the east towards Ireland than that the stream should run backwards. It is a singular coincidence that Dr. Petrie designed, for the tomb of O'Connell, in the Glasnevin cemetery, a round tower, an oratory, and a cross: a round tower as a belfry would have been very little to the purpose, but I think that this group, considered as a tower or beacon of the dead, a sepulchral chapel, and a cross of a cemetery, would have been in its proper place.

Rockhurst, Monkstown, Cork, *October*, 1862.

[a] From a paper in a late number of the London *Athenæum* I see that "mortuary chapels" are still to be met with in some old cemeteries in Italy. They were used for the purpose above mentioned. The small chapel by the side of the tower of Clonmacnoise must have been similarly used, as it is no more than ten feet long. In a notice of the life of Saint Swithin in another recent number of the *Athenæum*, there is a curious passage with regard to the burial of that saint. It is stated that he was interred outside the church "at the foot of his own tower."

# COLONEL THOMAS SMYTH'S SETTLEMENT IN THE ARDES. 1572.

The recent publication of a Calendar of the earliest Irish State Papers indicates the letters respecting Smyth's settlement in the Ardes which are preserved in their special office. My present object is to publish some other pieces, from different sources, elucidating the history of this attempt at colonisation. The first is a letter from the Anglo-Irish chieftain, who was the principal proprietor of the country Smyth settled in, namely, as he signs himself, "Rawelyn Savage, chief of his nation." His first ancestor who settled in this country appears to have been among the most distinguished of De Courcy's colonists; and his successive forefathers having acted, during several generations, as seneschals of the Earldom of Ulster, received the surname of Mac Seneschal. The earliest printed State Paper of 1515 mentions "Sir Rowland Savage, Leecahahyll, Knight," as the foremost of the great English rebels of Ulster. The barony of Lecale was his, and he was Lord of the Ardes. In 1551, the Lord Chancellor states that "the contention between Savage of Arde and Hugh M^cNeill *oge* [King of Clandeboye] has been ordered." Sixteen years subsequently, when it was attempted to wrest the fertile plains of Lecale from their owner, the English Captain Piers, Governor of Carrickfergus, writes that "Lord Savage's followers are drawn from him into Lecale." This was in 1567. The date of the ensuing letter from Rawelyn [a] Savage is unknown, but it probably is 1562, the date of the other letters with which it is bound up.

"To the Right Hon. the Erle of Sussex, Lieut. Gen. of Ireland.

"Hit maye please your honor, for that Mr. Brereton and also Alexander M^cRandall boye are here present, that in so much your honor's pore supplyent, Rawelyn Savage, cheif of his nation, is a neyghbour and borderer unto them, that your honor would move them, yea, and require them to shewe their frendship unto him, and that they wold nether ayde nor assist such as be or shall be hynderers and evyll doers unto hym, but shall mayntayn him for the apprehension and punishinge of them * * * to justice so that they may be brought to answer for their evyll * * and that he maye have your honor's lycence to kepe such as shall owebè the Quene's majesty and your honor, for the better defence of hymself and his euntrey. And this in the waye of Justice."[b]

Lord Savage effectually resisted all attempts to eject him from the Southern Ardes, which, as the part of his territory least fertile, he was suffered to hold; and when Thomas Smyth, son of the Queen's secretary, came over to colonise upon a grant of this district, the old chieftain did not quit, but remained at home, and was thereby enabled to help his son, Ferdorough, who appears to have from policy pretended to join the new settlers, while in reality he was working their destruction.

The first State Paper notice of this enterprise is in a letter, dated 8th Feb., 1572, from Captain

[a] Rawelyn is Raoul-ine, *i.e.* young Raoul (Rolle), a common Christian name in Armorican France at this day. Roland, or Rowland was the usual form in this country.

[b] Bibl. Cotton, Vesp. F. xii. p. 29.

Piers to the Lord Deputy, stating that the country is in an uproar at the news of Mr. Smyth's coming over to plant in the North; on receipt of which the viceroy admonished Burghley that this grant "will bring the Irish into a knot to rebel." Altogether, the difficulties of the undertaking, first in enlisting Englishmen, and secondly in coping with the Irish, were extreme.

Among the steps taken by Thomas Smyth towards inducing Englishmen to adventure with him in his enterprise, a prominent proceeding was the printing of a tract, entitled "Letter by J. B. on the peopling of the Ardes." This epistle was written by Smyth, for he speaks of himself in the first person, and the pamphlet is cleverly adapted to its purpose. It is in black letter, dated 1572, and is now a rare tract in the Grenville collection, British Museum. The writer, only and natural son of the philosopher and statesman, Sir Thomas Smyth, one of Queen Elizabeth's secretaries of state—a man chosen from her favourite middle class—was sanguine of the success of his scheme of colonisation, which was plausible in itself, and for the sustentation of which he reckoned on the powerful support his father could give. The following are the most curious extracts from this document, which has almost the rarity of MS., since, though not literally out of print, the original is probably a unique copy. It has also the importance attaching to the circumstance that Smyth's adventure was the precursor to Essex's enterprise—the pilot balloon sent up to try the force and direction of the wind, and thus test whether it were favourable to colonising descents on Ulster shores.—

"The Kings of England contented themselves if they might only preserve a footyng or entry into Ireland with some small charge, whereby the governors were constreyned, for want of supply, by protection and pardons to appease every rebellion, which otherwise to represse and punish they were not sufficiently furnished. This perceived the Irishe, mede them that uppon every light occasion, they will flie out, and, satisfied with blood and burning, will not without protection and pardon be brought in. The Englishe race, overrunne and daily spoiled, did buy their owne peace, alied and fostered themselves with the Irishe, and the race, so nourished in the bosome of the Irishe, perceiving their immunitie from lawe and punishment, degenerated; choosing rather to maintain themselves in the Irishman's beastly libertie, than to submit themselves and to live there alone, and not [with] the Irish, in the godly awe of the lawes of England. This degenerating and daily decay of the English manners by little and little in the countrey, discourageth those that have not perfectly weighed all that is aforesaid, to attempt any new enterprise."

The adventurer then shows what were the proceedings of earlier English settlers among the Irish nation:—

"Moste of those that have taken in hand before this to winne and inhabite in Ireland, have, after the place once possessed, devided themselves eche to dwell uppon his own land, and to fortefie himself thereon, trusting with his own strength, if any invasion were made, to preserve himself therein. But this made not the enemie affrayed, who lay continually under his nose, and all

alongst upon the border, watching the time to serve his turne, sometimes stealing and preying the cattle, other times laying wait to intrap and murther the Maister himself, sometime setting fire on his reekes or townes; whereby they that lay next the frontier were forced either to forsake their owne, or else to compound and foster with the Irish. So they be degenerated as is aforesaid, and in time all was frustrate."

This was true of De Courcy's followers in Downshire. The writer shows that many men are ready to follow the old lead:—

"England was never, that can be heard of, fuller of people than it is at this day, and the dissolution of Abbayes hath done two things of importance heerin: it hath doubled the number of gentlemen and mariages, whereby cometh daily more increase of people; and such younger brothers as were wont to be thrust into abbayes, there to live an idle life, sith that is taken from them, must now seek some other place to live in. By thys meanes there are many lacke abode, and few dwellings empty. With that, our law, which giveth all to the elder brother, furthereth much my purpose. And the excessive expence, both in diet and apparell, maketh that men which have but small portions, can not maintaine themselves in the emulation of this world with like countenance as the grounded riche can do. Thus stand we at home."

Ready service was to be expected from the industrious class among the Irish, of whom this interesting picture is drawn:—

"There is no doubt but there will great numbers of the husbandmen, which they call Churles, come and offer to live under us and to ferme[e] our grounds, bothe of the wilde Irishe and of the English Pale:—for the churle of Ireland is a very simple and toylesome man, desiring nothing but that he may not be eaten out with ceasse [rent], coyne, nor liverie. Coyne and liverie is this. There will come a kerne or galliglas, which be the Irish souldiours, to lie in the churle's house; whiles he is there, hee will be maister of the house; hee will not onely have meate, but money also allowed him, and at his departure, the beste thing he shall see in the churle's house, be it linnen cloth, a shirte, mantil, or such like. Thus is the churle eaten up."

Smyth believed that, considering the fertility of the country, new colonists could, if they lived in tranquillity, soon grow an excess of corn, which he hoped might be sold abroad by relaxation of the interdict on exportation:—

"I am fully persuaded that the Queen, furthering the inhabiting and civilitie of the North, (which increasith more by keeping men occupied in tyllage, than by idle following of herds, as the Tartarians, Arabians, and tribe men doo) will give ful libertie for the transportation of corne out of the said cuntrie into England and the continent."

Any fear or apprehension felt by the adventurers in Ulster, the writer treats thus:—

"If you will have examples of defending countries with fewer men, take Leix and Ophally;

[e] *Ferme*, from the French *fermer*, to close, enclose.

the latter [colony] is so safe, the settlers put forth their cattel in the night, without fear of stealing, which is brought to pass by Cowley's singular good government. The cuntrie of Lecale, our nexte neighbour, was sumtime kept by Brereton with a hundred horse; and the Arde itself, where Captain Goodricke amd Lieutenant Burrowes, with 14 men, kept and defended the castle called *Castle Reau* [Castlereagh] in the entric thereof, and went dayly one quarter of a mile for to fetch his water, against five hundred [Irish] that lay upon him."

This curious tract concludes with "The offer and order given out by Sir Thomas Smyth, Knight, and Thomas Smyth, his son:—

"Each footman to have a pike, or halbert, or caliver, and a convenient livery cloke of red colour, or carnation, with black facing.

Each horseman to have a staffe and a case of dagges, and his livery to be of the colour aforesaid.

Promised, on payment of 10 and 20 to lodge them under canvas and upon beds, until houses were provided."

The covenants offered by Sir Thomas Smyth to all partakers in the enterprise, are given at page 194 of the printed "History of Belfast," (1823.)

The following paragraphs are from Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smyth*, octavo, Oxford, 1620:—

"Sir Thomas in the year 1571 had procured a patent from her Majesty, for these Ardes: the substance whereof was, that Sir Thomas was to be Lieutenant General there for war, and for the distribution of lands, orders, and laws, in the matters thereunto pertaining: in a word, to obtain and govern the country to be won, following instructions and orders to him to be directed from the Queen and her Council; and this for the first seven years; afterwards the government of the country to return to such officers as the customs and laws of England did appoint, except the Queen should think him worthy to be appointed the governor thereof, as being a frontier country: the right to remain only in him as to the inheritance, the authority to muster and call together his soldiers throughout the same country, and to dispose of them upon the frontiers, as he should see cause for the better defence of the country.

"In this patent his base and only son Thomas Smith was joined with him; and under his conduct Sir Thomas this year sent thither the colony beforesaid: having this good design therein, that those half barbarous people might be taught some civility. And his hope was, that the place might easily be defended by garrisons placed in a straight neck of land, by which it was joined to the rest of the island: and there was a reward of land to every footman and horseman. But this extensive project took not its desired effect; for the hopeful gentleman, his son, had not been long there, but he was unhappily and treacherously slain. It was a pity it had no better issue; for Sir Thomas a great while had set his thoughts upon it, undertaking to people that north part of the island with natives of this nation.

"But for his more regular and convenient doing of it, and continuance thereof, he invented

divers rules and orders. The orders were of two kinds. 1. For the management of the wars against the rebels, and the preserving the colony continually from the danger of them. 2. For the civil government: to preserve their home manners, laws, and customs, that they degenerated not into the rudeness and barbarity of that country. He divided his discourse into three parts. First, to speak of wars; and therein of military officers to be used there. Secondly, concerning laws for the politic government of the country to be possessed, for the preservation of it. Thirdly, in what orders to proceed in this journey from the beginning to the end; which Sir Thomas called 'a noble enterprise,' and 'a godly voyage.'"

The biography proceeds to say that, young Smith, having led the colony over, carefully set it in order, "began a new fort," viz., the fortalice known as "Smith's Castle;" and applied himself to make peace and amity with Sorlebuoy McDonnell, chief of the Scots settlers, in order to bring this independent and dangerous potentate under obedience to the crown; lest, in case of quarrel and contest between the English and Scots invaders, no sooner should the one have weakened the other, than "the wild Irish might, like the pothawk," (the simile is the Secretary of State's,) "drive them out." Further, the memoir observes that:—"at Mr. Smith's first coming hither, he found some few that claimed themselves descended of English blood, namely, the family of the Smiths, and the Savages, and two surnames more: and these presently joined with the English, and combined with them against the wild Irish; but all the rest were mere Irish or Irish Scots, and natural haters of the English."

During the winter of 1572-3, the young colonizer did good service, and by succouring Carrickfergus, prevented the loss of that seaport town. "But," concludes the memoir, "while these matters thus fairly and hopefully went on, Mr. Smith was intercepted and slain by a wild Irishman."

Let us corroborate the above accounts by the following extracts from the Calendar of State Papers.

In this month of May, 1572, these clever undertakers, Sir Thomas and his son, had enlisted men to the number of 800, but the expedition was temporarily detained, on account of the Lord Deputy's letters against the enterprise. However, the young adventurer landed on the 31st August, at Strangford, and writes to acquaint Lord Burghley of his proceedings. Sir Brian Mac Phelim O'Neill, chieftain of Claneboy would not part with one foot of the land; and meanwhile, the newly arrived soldiers were withdrawn, for better security, from the Ardes country, to Ringhaddy, in the Dufferin. The native chief then made an inroad into the Ardes, burning and devastating wherever he went. Shortly afterwards, upon one of his principal confederates, namely Neill, son of Faghertach, which latter had been lord of Claneboy, being detached from him, and drawn over to the government side, he sued for peace. Under this prospect of success, Smyth began fortifying Newcastle, which was subsequently called after his name. His father also addressed a statesmanlike letter to the viceroy, setting forth the necessity of planting colonies in Ireland, which are not intended (observes he) to

destroy the Irish people, but to teach them virtuous labour, "and to leave off robbing and killing of one another." The adhesion of the son of Faghertach to the colonizing side was of short duration: he went over, in the month of November, with his "kiriates," *(i.e. caoraigheachta,* "creaghts,") or herds of cattle, to Sir Brian; and the enterprisers had nothing to report, as a matter of triumph, excepting that they had recently made the Irish Knight's youngest daughter prisoner. Whether to save this young lady, or to obtain fair terms from the government, her father, Sir Brian, "made humble means to be admitted to mercy." On the 29th May, '73, Thomas Smyth, "Colonel of the Ardes," sent his father "a history of all that has been done since his arrival," and wrote to Lord Burghley, declaring how "envy hath hindered him more than the enemy." He had been "ill-handled" by some of his own soldiers, ten of whom had been committed to ward for the offence. The Earl of Essex landed in Ulster in the month of September, to commence his greater enterprise, which contemplated the reduction of the entire province to the dominion of the English crown. This arrival of an additional and powerful force drove the natives to desperation. The son of Faghertach contrived, in the month of October, to induce some Irishmen, whom Colonel Smyth had taken into service in his household, to shoot him—a fate foreshadowed by the brave bastard himself, in his printed "Letter," in which he says that the Irish, bent on defeating every attempt on the part of strangers to settle near them, sometimes lay "wait to intrap and murther the maister himself." His men, thus deprived of their head, were conducted into a place of safety by Ferdorough Savage, who, having accepted a command under the Earl of Essex, acted thus tenderly to the bereaved colonists.

There are two maps illustrative of this settlement: one is bound up in the "Life" above cited; the other is the curious chart recently published from a contemporary copper-plate, and though a map of the entire kingdom, bearing internal evidence of having been engraved at the Secretary of State's cost. The map in the "Life" merely embraces Eastern Ulster. It places "Savaige" in the south part of the Ardes, and Mr. Maltby is twice named as colonizer in Lecale.

HERBERT F. HORE.

POLE HORE, Wexford, 21st October, 1862.

*The Right Hon^ble Right Wise and Valiant* ATHUR LO: CHICHESTER, LO. Baron of Belfast Lo. High Treasurer of Ireland *and some times* Lo. Deputy *of that* Kingdom *a^n 11 years & upward. One of the Privy Counsell in* ENGLAND.

*The above Inscription is round the Oval of the Original*

# SOME NOTICES OF SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER, BARON OF BELFAST.

Of the many Lord Deputies who have governed Ireland, few held a higher position as soldier and statesman, than Sir Arthur Chichester, founder of the noble family of Donegall. The following *resumé* of his services as Lord Deputy, during the first nine years of his official career, drawn up by himself, and addressed to King James, is in Her Majesty's State Paper Office [calendared, May, 1619], and as a valuable historical memoir, seems well worthy of a place in this *Journal*.

"A note of some of the most materiall services, which I have performed since I came into the governement of yor Ma^ties^ Realme of Irelande, in February 1604.

"Having bin yor Ma^ties^ Deputie of that Kingdome, now full nine yeres and three months [a grace seldom don to men of that place by yor Predecessors], I am bounde, in testimonie of the care I have had of yor service there and discharge of the trust so reposed in me, to laie downe the state of that Realme as I found it; the remedies I gave to the enormities therof; the present condition of the affaires there; and, lastlie, myne opinion for the better reformation and hopefull settlement of the future peace and welfare of that Realme.

"I came into the governement when a longe and bloodie warre had destroied the greater parte of the people, and lefte manie partes of the Kingdom in a manner wast. The remnant then alive were for the most parte so fearfull to be called to an account for their ill demerits, that they then abandoned all good societies; the Cities and Townes had carried themselves so contemptuouslie upon the death of y^e^ late Quene, that they were doubtfull of their owne saffeties, and all the people who had bin transported with disloialtie and malice towardes the State were diversely distracted and amazed, beinge conscious of their owne guilte, and affraid of their owne shadowes no lesse than one of another.

"To free them of those juste feares, and to setle them againe in their former vocations, and specially to the manurance of the lande, which had longe laine wast by devastacion of the warres, I procured from yor Ma^tie^ a generall pardon of all offences comitted before yor succession to the crowne, w^ch^ was accordinglie proclaimed and joyfullie accepted by all men. And this hath bin a principal motive of the peace ensuinge unto this time.

"I found by former experience that the makinge of the Irish Lordes and Gentlemen, under the great seale, Captaines and Chieftaines of their septes and contreys, to which they pretended a right by course of Irish Tanistrie, did cause not onlie intollerable oppressions of yor Ma^tie^'s subjects (who lived on condition of slaves and vassalls under them, and made their sole dependance upon those Idoll Lordes), but caused also manie sinister ambitions to be practized, and unnaturall

murthers to be comitted upon their owne neer kindred. In consideration of all w^ch^ mischiefs and inconveniences and for remedie therof, I did whollie resolve to make no such granntes in my time, though it had bin an ancient custome of all former Governors, and would have bin verie profitable unto me, if I had preferred myne owne private gaine before yor Ma^tie's^ service and good of the Comon-welth. This enstom is yet allowable, at this daie, by a statute in that Realme inacted, w^ch^ I wish to be againe repealed and abolished by a new acte.

"I have caused manie of the Chieftaines and pretendinge Lordes to surrender their Landes and Titles, and to take newe estates by lettres patentes from yor Ma^tie^, and have reduced their uncertaine cuttinges and cosheries, liveries, and other like Irishe exactions and extortiones, into rentes certaine, and to make manie freeholders under them accordinge to the course of the comon Law and enstome of England, whereby yor Ma^tie^ shall be better served in Sises or Sessions, or as the policie of the goverment doth necessarilie require; the exorbitant greatnesse and dependancie upon the hye to be cutt of, and the inferior sorte to be masters of their owne.

"I have reduced certaine Irish contreys into Shire-groundes, the inhabitantes whereof had bin accustomed, in all former times, to give no more obedience to yor Lawes, writtes, and officers of justice, than the sword and regall power did compell them unto; namely the contrey of Dowhara, w^ch^ I have laid to the Countie of Cross-Tipperarie; Termon-magrath w^ch^ is annexed unto that of Fermanagh; Ely o Carroll laid to the Kinges Countie; and the Contrey of the Byrnes, Tooles, and other Irishe Septes, nere unto Dublin, w^ch^ are putt into one intire Countie. These thinges have brought foorth good effectes, also both unto the Inhabitants and their bordering neighbours.

"I have distributed and setled the Countie of Monaghan among the Cheeftaines and made manie freeholders, of the natives, under them, accordinge to a projecte of a plantation thereof formerlie conceived in the time of S^r^ William fits Williames, but with some alterations verie available for the quiet and benefitt of those partes. That setlement will be very available for yor Ma^tie's^ service, if troubles should arize, and the more by reason of yor Ma^tie's^ new Castell there, with the fortification of the towne and other good buildinges erected in those partes by Sir Edward Blayney, Seneschall of the said Countie. The like care I have had of the contrey of Evagh and Kilwarlyn in the countie of Downe, where I have contented the Cheeftaines of them with certaine portiones of landes in demesne, and allotted the rest in freeholde unto sundrie of the Natives, with a reservation of rentes certaine unto the cheefe Lordes. In that division I have gained a convenient proportion of Landes for the B^p^. and other mayntenance for the Ministers of the Diocese of Drumore.

"I have banished the O'Moores, with the Dowlyns, Kellies, Lawlors, and other Irishe Septes, their ancient followers of the Queen's Countie, and dispersed them into sundrie partes (out of all the province of Lenster) into Munster and Conaught; upon consideration that by their greatness and rebellions they had often disquieted and ruyned the English Colonies planted there; knowing

by experience that they had made nineteen severall insurrections against them and the State, since the first new plantation of that Contrey in the time of Quene Marie. This was often thought on and attempted in the times of my predecessors, but for the apparance of the great difficulties and dangers like to ensue of it, there was noethinge effected untill now that it is done without anie blood or great noise made of it.

"What I haue don towards the reformacon, and settlement of the Province of Vlster is needles to repeate, it beinge best knowne to your Ma^tie, But I may truly say that if the plantacon be performed faythfully, accordinge to the first intencon, and good orders made in that behalfe, it will appeare to posteritie to be the greatest, and best service, which hath beene done since the first conquest of that lande.

"I haue done my best indeavour, and prevayled somewhat amonge that Nation, in the reformacon of Religion, and maners, to alter there habitts and induce them to dwell together in villages, and hamletts, for comon defence and benefitt of each other agaynst wood kerne, and other idle malefactors. It is my care and always shal be to reduce them to better Civilitie, as may find occasion, and meanes, that the same may be accounted to posterity a monge the other happiness of your good Ma^ties time.

"Besides the cuttinge off manye badd members, and disloyall offenders within land: I have sent a way abone 6000 of this same inclinacon, and profession into the warrs of Sweden, whereof but a fewe are yet returned backe, and this was an Act of no small difficultie.

"I haue greatly abated yo^r Ma^tie^s charge from what I found it at my first cominge to the Government, and haue appeased all the Insurrecon there hapned, w^thout any greate charge to yo^r Ma^tie more then was allowed your Establishment.

"Notw^thstandinge the large guifts made by yo^r Ma^tie of lands in fee simple, and feefarme in that kingdome, yet haue I improved your Revenenes there to double as much as I founde it, when I came to the governm^t. And whereas of the ould revenue and composition, the one halfe was not payde when I entred into my place, I haue now brought them to pay the whole: and if any thinge be in arreare since that tyme, the fault resteth vpon the officers of the Exchequer.

"I could descend into many more particulars of this kinde, but theis onlie may suffice, as beinge of greatest moment, and most materiall to yo^r Ma^ties informacon at this time."

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There is a MS. in the Harleian collection (No. 5052) entitled *Certaine Chronicularie Discourses*, by William Farmer[a] Chirurgion, and dedicated to the Right Honorable Arthur Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast, &c. In the dedication Farmer refers to a former compilation of a similar description, a rough copy of which (at least what I take to be so) is in the same collection

[a] Probably the same William Farmer who wrote an Almanack for Ireland, printed at Dublin in 1587. Certainly the first Irish almanack.

(No. 3544), and from the two I select the following extracts relative to Ireland during Chichester's Lord-Deputyship.

"About this time [1604] it pleased the King's Maiestie to alter the Governement in this Kingdome of Ireland, for he revoked Sir George Carie, that was Lord Deputie at that presente, and sent over to that worthie Knight Sir Arthur Chichester (who had been governour of Carriefergus about 9 years) his patent to be Lord Deputie Generall of all Ireland, with directions to take uppon him presentlie the place and governement of the Kingdom, which he did, and receyved the Sword together with his Othe, in the Cathedrall Church comonlie called Christes Churche in Dublin, uppon the 3 day of Februarie in anno 1604, what tyme he was fullie established in the governement of the Kingdom.

"This Lord Deputie was naturallie of a religious disposition, out of which, in this tyme of his governement, he indevored, not onelie to plant godlie and learned men in the Churche of God; but also to reedifie and builde up agayne the ruinated and decayed Churches that weare in the Kingdom.

"Anno 1606. About this tyme that reverent preacher Master William Daniell, Batchilor of Divinitie, was in hand with the Translation of the Book of Comon Praier into the Irish Tongue: And was greatlie incouraged thear unto by the Lord Deputie, who not onlie gave way thear unto, but also striekte order for the printing thear of with large recompense out of his Majestie's threasure, and commyssion for dispearsing them throughout all the Churches in the Kingdome.

"Anno 1608. In this yeare was published in print the Booke of Comon Prayer in the Irishe tongue, which was translated and reduced into the vulgar speeche of the Irishe by that reverent father in God William Daniell, Lord Archebyshop of Tuam, by the procurement of the Lord Deputie, who gave speciall directions that the Archebyshops and Byshops shoulde take everie one a portion of them into their Dioces, and distribute them amonge their Clergie, to everie Paryshe one; allso the sayd Lord Deputie in the tyme of his governement compelled the parishioners of everie parishe to reedifye their decayed and ruinated Churches, whear of many had lyen waste long tyme; and manye other good thinges he dyd bothe to the Churche and Churchemen."

Next we have a glimpse of a hospitable Mayor—as indeed all Mayors are, or, at least, ought to be—and somewhat of a sporting character as well:—

"Anno 1608. John Cusacke Mayor of Dublin. This Mayor was a great House Keeper, for, in his Mayoraltie, he invited the Lord Deputie sundrie tymes; also Strangers, and Travellers out of Forrayne Contreys weare entertayned in his house: He would make Matches of Bowling and Shooting with the Lord Deputie and Councell. And above all this he did governe the State of the Cittie with Equitie and Justice."

In the following extract we learn how long a Lord Deputy was in travelling from London to Dublin, and how he was received at the seat of his government.:—

"Anno 1614. After he [Lord Deputy Chichester] had taken his leave of the King, he departed from London on Monday the 11th of Julie, being accompanied by Sir Henry Poore, Sir Robert Digbye, Sir Charles Willmot, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir Roger Jones, Sir Edward Moore, and manie other gentlemen of worthe, which attended his Lordship, and arrived with him at the Head of Houth upon the 26th day of Julie, very earlie in the morninge: And the same day in the afternoone, the Lords Justices with such of the nobilitie of Ireland as were neare hand, and allso the Mayor of the Cittie of Dublin, with the Aldermen and Comons rode forthe to meet the Lord Deputie, by whom he was receyved most joyfully and attended upon with greate troopes of Horsemen of all estates, riding from Houth towards Dublin; and as he entered the Cittie he resumed againe the Sword of Estate into his own handes, which was borne before him by the Lord of Houth, and so riding most honorable with greate applause and rejoicing of the people, he passed through the Cittie, and went to his own house at Hoggin-Greene."

Chichester died without issue. His only child, a son, who lived scarcely two months, is thus noticed in the *Chronicularie Discourses* :—

"This year [1614] in the moneth of August, there was a very fair monument of Alabaster set up in the high Quire of the Cathedral Church of the Trinitie in Dublin, for that honorable child Arthur Chichester, son and heir to Arthur Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast and Lord Deputie Generall of the Realme of Ireland, borne unto him of that most vertuous Lady, his wife, the Lady Lettis, the daughter of that most worthy Knight, Sir John Perrot, who had been sometimes Lord Deputie in Ireland. This child was borne in anno 1606, about the first of October, and dyed in November next following, and lived not full two moneths.

"Upon whose death a gentleman attending the State made this Epitaph.

Here lyes the Father's hope and Mother's joy,
Though they seem hapless, happie was the boy;
For of his Life the long and tedious race
He hath despatch'd in less than two moneth's space.
A blessed Soul to whom such grace was given
To make so short a voyage into Heaven,
And here a name and Christendom to gaine,
And to his Maker straight return'd againe."

Farmer gives, also, the following account of a "Commencement" of the University of Dublin, at which Lord Deputy Chichester was present, and when the venerable and illustrious Usher received his degree of Doctor of Divinity:—

"The 18 day of August [1614] there was a great Commencement holden at the Universitie of Dublin, but because the Roomes in the Trinity Colledge were very small, they held their Acts of

Disputacion in the High Quire of St. Patrick's Church, and there proceeded that day five Doctors in Theologie, viz.

Dr. Jones, Lord Chancellor,
Dr. King, Bishop of Elphin, } By Grace.

Dr. Usher,
Dr. Richardson,
Dr. Walsh, } By publique Disputacion.

Batchelours of Divinitie, 3.
Masters of the Artes, 15. Incorporated 2.
Batchelours of the Artes, 17.

"The whole number of the Graduates at this Commencement, 38, besides 3 that were incorporated.

"The manner of this Commencement was accomplished in this order. First, Dr. Hampton, Lord Arch Bishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland, who having many years before proceeded Dr. in Theologie at the Universitie in Cambridge, was nowe at this Commencement incorporated into the Universitie of Dublin, and was chosen Doctor Cathedræ and Moderator of the Theological Act in that Commencement.

"So upon the day appointed, vizt. the 18 day of August, the said Dr. Hampton Lord Primate, together with the Provost, Fellowes, and Scholars of the House, passed from the Colledge through the Citie of Dublin, in a very stately order, for the Lord Primate and other ancient Doctors were every one attired in Scarlet Robes, with their Doctors' Hoods. Also the Batchelours of Divinitie, the Masters and Batchelours of the Arts were attired in other schollar-like Attires as appertained, which made a very beautiful showe to the sight of all men; and they were further graced with the presence of the Lord Deputie, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Vice-Treasure and Treasurer at Warrs, with divers others of the Council, who followed after them and sate in St. Patrick's Church to hear their disputacions and discourses, which were performed as followeth.

"First when they entred the Quire of St. Patrick's Church, the Masters and Batchelours of Art sate down in their places appointed for them, every one according to his degree. Likewise Doctor Dun, being a Dr. in the Civil Law and Vice Chancellor of the Universitie, tooke his place, which was also appointed for him in the Quire, and then Master Anthony Martin, Proctor of the Colledge, ascended up into one of the pulpits as Moderator for the Philosophical Arts.

"And the Lord Primate, who was Father for that day of the Theological Act, with those three which were to proceed in the publique disputacion, as also two Batchelours of Divinitie did ascend up into their places, which were appointed for them on the right side of the Quire.

"And when the Lord Deputie, the Lord Chancellor, and the Councill were set, and all things in good order, Dr. Dun, the Vice Chancellor of the Universitie, began an oration in Latine, being

as a general introduction into all the Actes of that day's disputacions, which he performed learnedly, and when he had ended his oration, the Lord Primate began another oration in Latine, concerning the Act of Divinitie and those who were to proceed Doctors.

"This oration contained a long discourse, wherein he administered Five Academicall Ceremonies, as here do follow in order:

1. He sett them in his chaire.
2. He gave them square caps.
3. He delivered them the Bible.
4. He putt rings upon their fingers.
5. He gave to each of them a kiss.

"These Ceremonies were ministered severally to each of them, first to Dr. Usher, then to Dr. Richardson, laste to Dr. Walsh; and the Lord Primate expounded to them the Signification of each Ceremony.

"This manner of Commencement was never used in Ireland before this time. Now all things being thus performed by the Lord Primate as is said: Dr. Usher went down into the Quire, and ascended up into one of the pulpitts, where he made a Sermon-like oration, upon the Text *Hoc est Corpus meum*, and after a long discourse thereon, the other two Doctors, viz. Dr. Richardson and Dr. Walshe disputed with Dr. Usher upon the same point, in which Disputacion the Lord Primate, who was the Father of this Theological Act, was also Moderator in their disputacion, and so finishing the Act, they arose up and returned back to the Trinitie Colledge, where a Stately Dinner was provided for the Lord Deputie and Council.

"And thus were all thinges concerning the Actes of Commencement in the Universitie of Dublin performed and accomplished to their high commendations and credit.

"The total Sum of all the Graduates that have commenced in this Universitie from the first Foundation thereof to this present yeare [1614] inclusive, conteyning the space of 23 years:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Doctors | in Divinitie, | 7 | In total 9. |
| | in Civil Law, | 1 | |
| | in Physick, | 1 | |
| | Batchelours in Theology, | | 7. |
| | Masters of the Arts, | | 38. |
| | Batchelours of the Arts, | | 53. |
| | Batchelours of Music, | | 1. |
| | Graduates in Total, | | 108. |
| | Besides those Incorporated, | | 3 |

viz.—one Doctor and two Masters of the Arts.

"And whereas it hath pleased God, that in these few years of her Infancy, she hath brought forth such a learned Issue, it is to be hoped for, that in her more ripe and mature years (God blessing her increase) she shall produce multitudes of learned Children, which shall flourish both in the Church and Commonwelth to the glorie of God, and the increase of the true Christian Religion, in Christ Jesus, Amen."

Chichester died in London, in February 1625, and in the October following was buried beside the remains of his wife and infant son, in St. Nicholas' Church, at Carrickfergus. The Reverend Alexander Spicer wrote *An Elegie on the much lamented Death of the Right Honorable Sir Arthur Chichester, &c.*, which was published at London, in 1625: a second edition of this work was published in 1643, proving that Chichester was a man not readily forgotten. One Christopher Brookes, also, wrote *A Funerall Poem, consecrated to the Memorie of that ever-honored President of good Soldyershipp, Goodness, and Virtue, Sir Arthur Chichester, &c.*, dedicated to Sir Francis Aneslay,[b] Baronet. This last work, though prepared for the press, was never printed, the publication of Spicer's poem having, in all probability superseded it. Some extracts from it may be found in the *British Bibliographer;* the MS. then being in the possession of Bindley.

Both poems, as may be supposed, are highly eulogistic. Spicer declares:—

"No worth finds extent
Beyond the bounds of his, whom I lament,
Grave, brave, sure, pure, and like a heavenly star,
In peace, war, speech, and life, was Chichester."

Brookes, in turn, tells us:—

"When nature first did set this man on foote
And virtue in his prime of yeares tooke roote;
All culture was applyd; manur'd for seedes
Of grace, religion, learning; and no weedes
That might annoy his groath, but in the bud
Were choak't ere they could settle, that his blood

[b] In a curious MS. collection of memoranda on the Peerage, written by the celebrated Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, and preserved in the Harleian, there is the following curious account of "the rise of the family of Annesley."

"Mr Annesley was buttler to Sr Arthur Chichester, Ld Lieutenant of Ireland. The Ld was one day at play, won a considerable sum of money, left his purse upon the table, went out to wait upon his company. Upon his return, he missed his purse, questioned Annesley; he denied yt. he had seen it, and yt nobody came into ye room, as he was. My Ld grew enraged, and Annesley turned and he suffered, some punishment. He was so uneasy in Ireland, yt he resolved for England; and as he was just got on board, some of my Ld's servants came from him to desire he would return, weh with some difficulty they prevailed with him. My Ld met him with open arms, desired he would forgive him; he had wronged him, for the monkey had stole ye purse. He took care to heap all places of honours: The Rise of the Family of Annesley."

(With those effects of sense) received controll,
And did their homage to their soveraigne soule."

From Spicer we learn that Chichester had studied at Oxford:—

"When once the time of childhood did begin
To step aside, that youth might enter in,
He went to Oxford, that the liberall Arts
Might be enamel to his native parts.
Fair education with good parentage,
Made all his virtues walk in equipage,
That they who knew him young, presag'd his scope
Was ever bending to that Cape of Hope
Where honour rides."

Spicer does not forget to relate how Chichester had been Knighted, on the field of battle, by Henry IV., of France:—

"The civil warres of France
Drew forth our English Scipio to advance
His colours there, which he displaied and wonne
Honorable Knighthood; when the fight was done
Henrie the 4 of France, in graceful manner,
Upon desert conferred this warlike honour;
And Fame imprints this character on his shield,
Knighted by Burbon in the open field."

From these poems we learn that Chichester had been a famous Captain at sea, as well as on land; a fact unnoticed, as far as I can recollect, by the biographers. Brookes tell us:—

"Nor could his crop of glories reapt in field,
His covetous mind her satisfaction yield:
But his plough-share (his sword's well-tempered steel)
Now dothe he change, to plowe the seas with keele;
Where proud Iberian heartes must seed the furrowes;
Where Trytons draw, and Neptune speedes the Harrowes:
Where Honor's husbandemen (like those of Greece)
Travaile and sweat to gain the Golden Fleece.
For Jason, Drake, who was our age's wonder,
Jove's substitute that ruled the earthly thunder:
Castor and Pollux, Troyns of auncient style,
Were payred in Chichester and Baskervile.

These were the Argonautæ of our tymes,
Who shifted ayres, zones, tropics, contries, clymes,
In quest of Fame, and with unwearied payne,
Brought home the Fleece, and left the Hornes with Spayne."

Spicer, in a note, says:—"He was Captaine of a ship called the Victorie, under the command of the Lord Sheffield, employed against the Spanish Invasion; anno 1587 and 88. Afterwards, he was Captaine and Commander in the Portugall voyage of 200 foot, in the Regiment of the Generall Sir Fra. Drake, 88 and 89. He went with Sir Fra. Drake to the West Indies, where he was Captaine of a Companie of Foote, and Lieutenant Colonell of a Regiment. And in Porterico, he set fire to the Admirall of the Spanish Frigatts 95 and 96. After their return from that voyage, he was imployed in France, being Captaine and Lieutenant Colonell of a Regiment with Sir T. Baskerville, 96. After his returne out of France, he was imployed into Ireland with the Earle of Essex."

Spicer, being Chichester's domestic chaplain, attended on his death-bed, and thus we glean some account of his last moments, and the immediate cause of his decease:—

"Lord, what is man? when such a man as he,
Whose parts excelled in the high'st degree,
Dies by a plurisie, a corrupted tumour,
Proceeding from a bad, unhealthful humour.
How ought we then, who are but Atoms small,
And in respect of *him*, are not at all,
To know our bodies but an house of earth,
And think on God before the soul goes forth?
His last to me was this,—'Much thanks, Good night.'
May my best service study to requite
His noble complement: For it I returne
Millions of tears on his bewailed Urne.
And sith the Bed he sleeps on is his Biere,
I'le bid *Good Night*, and draw the Curtaines here."

Spicer's poem was evidently written and published in the period (some seven months) which elapsed between the death and the burial of his lord and patron. And he thus, in the inflated, bombastic style not uncommon in his day, speculates on the appearance of Ireland in general, and Carrickfergus in particular, at the time of the funeral:—

"Joy-Mount can be no Mount of Joy, but moane,
Like to the turtle when her mate is gone.
The drums and fifes, clad in their mourning suite,
Will sound as if his death had made them mute.

The air will be all blacke, and, like a fuller,
Dye the light banners in a sable colour.
The Buriall must be wet, sith no eye's dry,
I' the swelling Deluge of this Misery.
England laments, and where his body goes,
The land is drowned with a Sea of woes.
Would I might live here still, the Irish shores
Will be as gloomy as the tawney Moore's:
Their blacke-died countenance will misinforme
The skillfull pilot; and, as in a storme,
Confusion will succeed; for beds of sand,
Will move the waves to drive them toward land,
That they may vie their multitudes with all
Who shed a teare at his sad Funerall.
'Tis well Knockfergus stands upon a rocke,
For otherwise the fierce, impetuous shocke
Of dismall outcries when the Corpes comes thither,
Will make the Fort, and Wall, and Houses shiver,
Or crumble into dust like Jericho,
When Joshua's ram's-horns were observed to blow.
Yea the whole Realme will make a dolefull cry,
To make an Earthquake for his Elegie."

In a collection of papers relating to burial ceremonies and the heraldic arrangements connected therewith, preserved among the Sloane MSS., I find the following account of Lord Chichester's funeral procession:—

"Conductors.
The Poore.
Two Serjants trayling their Halberts.
Two Fifes.
Two Drums.
The Ensign, trayled by Mr. Nuby.
The Commander of the Foot, Captn. Humphrey Norton.
Two Corporals of Horse.
A Trumpet.
The Cornet, trayled by Mr. John Chichester.
The Commander of the Horse, Mr. Henry Conway.
Two Conductors.

Captain Norton's,
Mr. Cary's,
and Mr. Poyn's } Servants.

Captn. Molineux,
Captn. Backer,
Captn. Vaughan,
Dans, & Chaplin's } Servants.

Sir Willm. Windsor
and Sir Francis Cook's } Servants.

Sir Arthur Basset
and Sir Faithful Fortescue's } Servants.

Sir George Sexton's
and Sir Hugh Clotworthy's } Servants.

Sir Moses Hill's
and Sir John Kingsmill's } Servants.

Sir Willm. Caulfield's
and Sir John Dillon's } Servants.

Sir Hercules Longford's
and Sir Roger Hope's } Servants.

Sir Willm. Brounlow's
and Sir Hugh Callvin's } Servants.

Sir Edwd. Wingfield's
and Sir Henry O'Neill's } Servants.

Sir T. Hibbot's
and Sir Hen Pierae's } Servants.

Sir J. Vaughan's
and Sir Edwd. Trevor's } Servants.

Sir Francis Annesley
and Sir Roger Jones's } Servants.

Sir Henry Blayney's
and Sir Theo. Docwra's } Servants.

Sir Charles Moore's
and Sir Robert Loftus's } Servants.

Visct. Claneboye's
and Earl of Antrim's } Servants.

The Standard, by Mr. Longford.

The Horse of the Field,[c] by Edward Edwards.

[c] The war-horse, fully caparisoned for battle.

Viscount Chichester's Servants.
The Defunct's Servants.
Lieutenant Leventhorpe and Mr. Meeke.
Mr. Capron and Mr. Abreyloe.
Mr. Loyde and Mr. Antient Roset.
Marmaduke Witehurch and Mr. John Hamilton.
Mr. Berrisford and Mr. West.
Mr. Gage and Perkin.
Mr. Edmund Parry and Mr. Guillim.
Mr. Neile,
Mr. Openshaw,[d]
Mr. Spyeer,
} Chaplains to the Defunct.
Mr. Dean Barloe.
Sir E. Wingfield and Sir H. O'Neale.
Sir W. Brownlow and Sir Hereules Langford.
Sir Willm. Caulfield and Sir Moses Hill.
Sir John Kingsmill and Sir Geo. Seaton.
Sir Hugh Clotworthy and Sir Fran. Cooke.
A Trumpet.
The Guidion,[e] by Mr. Charles Poynes.
The Stewart and Comptrouler,[f] with white rods.
Chevall de deale,[g] by Mr. Hamtree.
The Pennon, by Sir Roger Hope.
The Bishopp of Downe, The Bishopp of Dromore.
The Great Banner, by Sir William Windesore.
The Spurrs, by Mr. Hamden.
The Gantletts, by Mr. Powell.
The Crest, by Mr. Carey.
The Sword, by Captn. Molineux.
The Targat, by Mr. Chichester.
The Coate, by ————Leveret Athlone.[h]
Mr. Haddy, Gentleman Usher.
Ulster King of Armes.

[d] Openshaw was Dean of Connor, and Rector of Carrickfergus. He was buried in St. Nicholas churchyard. M^cSkimin gives the inscription on his tombstone.

[e] A flag, broad at one end, and almost pointed at the other, and divided up the middle. It is now only carried by the life-guards.

[f] The steward and comptroller of the defunct's household.

[g] Cheval de Deuil, the ordinary riding horse of the deceased, caparisoned in mourning.

[h] Athlone Herald.

Sir Thos. Hibbots.

Mr. H. Upton.

[i] 4th Bannerol.

Perrott.

Sir E. Trevor.

Mr. J. Forteseue.

3rd Bannerol.[i]

Bourchier.

The Body.

[i] 2nd Bannerol, Courney.

Sir F. Forteseue.

Sir Roger Jones.

1st Bannerol, Beaumont.[i]

Sir A. Basset.

Sir F. Annesley.

Viscount Chichester, Chief Mourner.

Train, borne by Arthur Denham.

Sir Charles Moore and Sir R. Loftus.

Sir Th. Doewra and Mr. Henry Blayney.

Two Groomes, bareheaded, with staves.

The Mayor and his train.[k]

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Prince, in his *Worthies*, speaking of Lord Arthur Chichester, says:—"In a little oratory adjoining to the very little Church of Eggesford, on the north side of the Chancel, I saw a memorial of him, to wit—A head cut out in coarse marble, where his face is represented to the life, yielding a look stern and terrible, like a soldier. They who are skilled in sculpture aver it to be an excellent piece of work."

The accompanying lithograph amply testifies to the truthfulness of the sculptured head; for it certainly is, to say the least, stern and terrible looking. W. Pinkerton.

[i] The banneroles of Perrott and Bourchier, (flags depicted with the arms of those families,) were for the deceased's wife; the banneroles of Courtenay and Beaumont for his mother and grandmother. Sir F. Forteseue, who carried the bannerole of Courtenay, was in all probability brother-in-law, and Mr. T. Forteseue, nephew of Lord Chichester. Sir A. Bassett was another brother-in-law.

[k] The Mayor and his train probably included the Sovereign and Burgesses of Belfast, then an unimportant place in comparison with Carrickfergus. When Arthur, first Earl of Donegall, was buried at Carrickfergus, the Sovereign and Burgesses of Belfast attended the funeral in their official robes.

# ANCIENT IRISH GOLD AND ITS ORIGIN,

## WITH NOTES ON EARLY IRISH NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE.

In a preceding paper,[a] the aid of Irish history, and its corroboration by recorded modern discoveries, have been employed as a basis for the investigation of the sources, the character, and extent of our ancient wealth, and of the particular type of workmanship of our ancient golden antiquities. Unsupported by those discoveries, the allegations of history would have remained open to the scepticism which has so frequently cast doubt upon them. The abundance and variety of wrought articles in gold, silver, and bronze, brought to light year after year, and stamped with characteristics so distinct and peculiar, are the most solid monuments to attest the truthfulness of long floating traditions embodied in Bardic utterances. The late Mr. J. M. Kemble observed: "With the sole exception of the museums of Scandinavia, which probably derived many of their treasures from successful thefts in this island, there is scarcely one European collection which shews anything like so great a wealth of personal ornament formed of precious metal as Ireland." (*Proc. R. I. Acad.* vi., 473.)

Assuming that the abundance of gold in the pre-historic times of Ireland may now be regarded as indisputable, the next question arising—and it is one of much curiosity and interest—is as to whence came the supply? This enquiry has been a subject of difficulty with antiquaries, but the difficulty has been of their own making. Our native resources will certainly not explain the fact of that abundance. Some would regard the gold as solely imported; others as of native produce. It may not, perhaps, be unreasonable to attribute it to both sources.

Dr. Todd, the late President of the Royal Irish Academy, briefly discussed this question in his inaugural address, delivered in 1856:—"Geology," he says, "assures us that there are no auriferous streams or veins in Ireland capable of supplying so very large a mass of gold." He then shews that the Gauls covered their bodies with rings, armillæ, torques, and plates of gold, and assumes that a branch of this people settled in Ireland. From the affinity known to exist between the Celtic language and the ancient Sanscrit, he thinks there is a probability that the Oriental derivation of the Gaedhil given in the tradition of the Bards, may indicate a passage through India. In other words, the Irish, a race of Gallic extraction, came hither from India through Gaul, bringing with them much gold, and consequently, our so called Irish gold was an importation from Gaul, along with Gallic colonists. From this theory we are constrained to dissent. This colonization receives no countenance from Irish history, neither did it find favour from Zeuss, nor from our best modern Senachies and antiquaries; although, apart from the Gallic derivation, an Oriental descent must command our assent, as it has had that of some of the ablest writers, including

[a] See *ante*, page 28.

amongst the most recent, the much regretted name of the late J. M. Kemble. This gentleman, it may be remarked in passing, fully recognised the probability of the native Irish tradition, when, speaking upon the progression of Irish art, he says that he could observe "two great streams of culture in Europe, one passing along from upper Italy over the Alps into Selavonie lands to Sweden and the Danish islands, the other coasting the north of Afriea, running westward and northward, and finding its principal development in this Island." The derivation of Irish art by the traek here mapped out is as reliable a verification of the narrative of the migrations of the Gael to Ireland as if it had been corroborated by direct written evidence; and, taking both in eonjunetion, must outweigh any theories, however plausible, or advaneed by any literary speeulator however respectable.

It is not necessary here to re-open the question of the acquaintanee of the Phœnieians with Ireland as one of the British islands. To this great commereial people and their colony of Carthage it is now universally admitted that this island was known by its native name of *Ierne*, as also by its distinguishing religious appellation of *Insula Sacra*, probably as early as the days of Moses, when some modern writers would deny that it had yet been inhabited by the Celt. We have the testimony of the author of the *Argonautics*, who flourished 500 years before our era, and that of Avienus, who derived his information from the ancient Phœnician annals ("ex imis Phœnicum annalibus," as he himself declares) to that effect. The Roman writer, Ptolemy, in the second century of our era, deseribes it in greater detail than any other preceding writer, and tells us that he is indebted for his information to a Phœnician writer, Marinus Tyrius, who doubtless aequired his knowledge from the archives of his native country.

Tin, we are told, was the great object of those early merchants in their intercourse with these islands; but Ireland produced no tin, and the connexion between those traders and her shores must have had a wider range of objects. The number and safety of her harbours most probably offered inducements to them for trading far beyond any other country in those seas; and her commercial relations must have been maintained for many ages, even after the disappearance of Phœnician and Punic navigators from the old scenes of their maritime adventure. Tacitus expressly tells us that when Ireland first became open to Roman knowledge, in the time of Agricola, she was in possession of a commerce superior to that of Britain:—"Solum cœlumque, et ingenia cultusque hominum, haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negociatores cogniti." (*Vit. Agric, sec.* 24.)

The Scoto-Milesians who had found their way to this "island of destiny" from the sunny land of Spain, calling themselves, as they certainly did, *Fenians*, must have inherited a portion of the commercial spirit of that great people whose name they were proud to assume; and their history in this island accordingly abounds with notices of their intercourse in peace and war with the neighbouring nations of Britain, Lochlin, Gaul, and Spain, fully bearing out the statement of the

Roman historian. The valuable information placed on record by him, it is but reasonable to infer, had been supplied by persons who had themselves visited Ireland. Internally, the Irish possessed institutions and arrangements highly favourable to commercial enterprise, in their great periodical assemblages, called "Aonachs," a term still in use as applied to fairs and markets. These Aonachs were held in every part of Ireland, at certain recurring seasons, and many of the sites still retain the name, as Aonach Tete, now Nenagh, Aonach Carman (Wexford), Aonach Clochair (Mainistir an Aonach, County of Limerick), and Aonach Cross in Magh Line (Down?). The Fair of Tailten, held triennially, was one of the most remarkable. The objects of this great gathering were various. It was a prototype of all later fairs, with a religious and political character, and was held for fifteen days before and fifteen days after the first of August. Here alliances were formed, military enterprizes planned, games and amusements celebrated, and business of trade and barter transacted; booths and tents being erected for the exhibition of wares. Meetings such as these were also held at Tara, Tlachtga, Uisneach, Eamania, Cruachan, &c. It is a curious fact, that the trader is still vernacularly known by the name of *ceannaidhe*, a merchant, (see O'Brien and O'Reilly's *Dictionaries*), a term cognate with the Hebrew (and doubtless, also, the Phœnician) *Canaan*. Fairs like these were general in Europe from very early times. Such were the *Feriæ Latinæ* of the Romans, held on the Alban mount, at once of a festive, religious, and commercial character; such also were the *Champs de Mars* of the Franks. Charlemagne instituted several. The Normans did the same in England. In all these, both pleasure and business were always combined. The king and his court, the priest, the soldier, the lady fair, the merchant, the minstrel, the juggler, and the buffoon, all alike gave their attendance, and displayed their state and their skill. But the great value of those meetings was the formation thereby of marts of commerce. To these, no doubt, the foreign as well as the native trader resorted. From the intercourse of Ireland with neighbouring nations, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and the Germanic ports of the Rhine, &c., she received the various productions of those countries, doubtless similar to those mentioned by Strabo [l. iv., ch. 5] of Britain, that is, ivory bracelets and necklaces, amber, vessels of glass, and small ware, to which may be added, corn, oil, and wine; giving in exchange her linen and woollen cloths, the manufacture of which was most ancient here, peltry, fish, and several of the metals.

We are still, unfortunately, too little acquainted with the contents of our manuscript literature to be able to present any clear or satisfactory information concerning the naval architecture or the commerce of ancient Ireland. The great mass of this literature continues, to our disgrace, hitherto buried in libraries, and all but inaccessible to modern Irish archæology. The small portion of ancient evidence hitherto published is insufficient to gratify curiosity to any large extent. In such of our historical writings as are now available, we can observe the existence of much early international intercourse. We read of expeditions beyond the sea for military and other

purposes, but there is little to indicate the character or species of the sailing craft by which those voyages were effected, or the precise nature of the traffic that was carried on.

The venerable Charles O'Conor is very moderate in his claims for the ancient Irish on the latter head: "The commerce," he says, [*Dissertations on the History of Ireland*] "of this people was very considerable, the wealth of the nation consisted chiefly in their numerous herds, and the produce of their own labour; it was real and inexhaustible wealth." Yet commerce was of so much importance to this people that, in their mythology, they had a tutelary deity of the sea—the demi-god Manannan Mac Lir—who presided over trade. Lough Orbsen (now Corrib) was specially sacred to him, and he gave his name to the Isle of Man. The acquaintance of the Irish with foreign countries appears to have been of very early date. The western shores of Gaul were well known to them. We find frequent reference to the *Muir n-Ict*, the Sea of *Ict*, or Ictian Sea, which washes the coast of Armorica or Brittany. Cæsar speaks of the *Portus Ictius*, and hence, says Dr. O'Conor, probably the name of Armorica itself, *i.e.*, *Ar muir Ict*, as being on the Mare Ictium. This district was also known to the Irish by the name of *Letha* (Letavia), a denomination sometimes extended to Italy. When Strabo [*Lib.* iv., ch. 4, sect. 1.] tells us that the Veneti of this part of Gaul possessed the commerce of Britain, we may, without any great straining, presume that under that head the trade with Ireland was also included. Upon this sea, at the mouth of the Loire, the Irish monarch, Niall of the Nine Hostages, was killed by a Leinster prince, in A.D. 405, as related in the ancient tract upon the expedition and death of that king.

At an earlier period (A.M. 3404) Seadhna, King of Ireland, kept up a naval force, on board of which he conveyed troops to invade Britain and Gaul, landing his men in *noevoys* and *curachs*, as they drew but little water. About A.M. 3619, Hugony, another king of Ireland, sailed along the coast of Gaul, and contracted a matrimonial alliance in that country: of that marriage there was a numerous issue. The same prince extended his naval and military enterprizes into the Mediterranean. Of his exploits in that sea, Mr. O'Conor (in *Collectanea* vol. 4.) observes, very naively: "Had we details of Hugony's voyages, they would doubtless throw very considerable and useful lights on our history."

In A.M. 3682, Labhra *Laoingseach* (or the "naval") having been, for many years, an exile in Gaul, returned thence in a large fleet, and landing in the harbour of Wexford, successfully fought his way to the sovereignty of Ireland.

The Irish intercourse with Britain in these early periods was of a still closer and more intimate nature, as may be readily gathered from our historical notices. This receives further corroborative countenance from the striking evidence afforded by a still existing monument in the great "Watling Street road," which, commencing in London, where its name is preserved in one of the streets, and traversing England in a north-west course, passes by Chester to Holyhead and the Irish Channel. This road is at least as old, if not older, than the Roman occupation of Britain. It is

undoubtedly a British work, and implies as distinctly as any documentary evidence the existence of a great system of communication between the two islands.

After the Roman conquests in the west, the intercourse of the Irish with the conquered countries assumed more of a hostile character, without altogether abandoning commercial relations, where practicable. Seeing that their own independence at this period was menaced, the policy of the Irish naturally pointed to the necessity of giving to the conquerors of the world a sufficiency of occupation in their newly acquired provinces, and diverting their attention from themselves. They formed alliances, therefore, with the discontented provincials, fomented every revolt, and made descents where best they could. In the decline of the Roman power, when it was assailed from the east, the north, and the west, the Irish corsairs saw a golden opportunity of which they fully availed themselves. In North Britain, allied with the Picts and Attacots, we find them in the third and fifth centuries forming permanent settlements, under Cairbre Riada, in one age, and the sons of Erc, in another. We see this course of hostility in full vigour from the earliest appearance of the Romans in the west until their abandonment of Britain in A.D. 400. Our annals, during this period, record enterprises undertaken by Irish kings to the coasts of Gaul and Britain, whence they returned laden with valuable spoil.

In A.D. 74, Criomthan Nianair, king of Ireland, returned from foreign expeditions undertaken against either Gaul or Britain, bringing with him rich booty, amongst which is mentioned, a golden chariot, a pair of tables studded with 300 brilliant gems, a cloak interwoven with threads of gold, &c. [*Ogyg.*, part 3, c. 52.]

Another Criomthan, who flourished in A.D. 366, also carried his arms into foreign nations, overcame the Britons and Gauls in several engagements, and, according to Keating, "made them tributaries." [1. p. 448.]

Forty years later, the monarch Niall, of the Nine Hostages, perished in Gaul, as already stated; and his successor on the throne, Dathi, after a career which bore him to the foot of the Alps, was there killed, it is said, by lightning. His body was subsequently taken home by his people, and buried in the royal cemetery of Rath Cruachan, in Connaught. This occurred in A.D. 429, and, according to the Abbe Mageoghegan, the Piedmontese, to this day, have a tradition in their country of the event. [*Hist. d' Irlande, tom.* I. p. 155.]

The captivity of St. Patrick, to which circumstance Ireland is indebted for the Christian faith, was owing to this spirit of foreign adventure which inspired the kings and people of Ireland at that period.

In the political institutions of Ireland, slavery formed an important feature. The Irish presented no exception in this respect amongst ancient nations. Not only was the general mass of the lower class of the community born in a state of serfdom, but free tribes, and men for their crimes, or by the misfortune of debt, were frequently reduced to the condition of slaves. So, in like

manner, foreigners captured in war were subjected to the same fate; and even in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, men, women and children were sold away from their native homes and freedom into foreign slavery. Captives were made in those times, not for the objects of modern warfare, as prisoners of war, or in hope of ransom, but as chattels representing transferrable property. The slave population in Ireland required to be constantly recruited, and had its marketable value. At the coming of the Scoto-Milesian colony to Ireland, we find the invaders accompanied by twenty-four slaves, whose names are given:—"*Tangadar ceithre modhaigh fichead le Macuibh Mileadh.*" "There came four-and-twenty slaves with the sons of Mileadh." [*Keating*]. Haliday, in his translation, renders the term *modh* an artificer or labourer, but our lexicons explain it as a servant or slave. By the kings and princes, slaves were given as tribute and stipend. Thus, the king of Cashel, according to the *Book of Rights*, bestowed as stipend on the king of Eile, his feudatory, six bondsmen (*modhaibh*) and six bondswomen, besides arms, &c. (p. 87). The king of Connaught bestowed upon the king of Ui Briuin ten bondsmen, &c. (p. 115). The king of Ui Tuirtre (in Antrim) was entitled, as stipend from the king of Eire, to eight hard-working, good-handed bondsmen (p. 153); and so was the king of Mughdhorn (Mourne) and Ros to "six bondsmen of great energy." (p. 155). Giraldus Cambrensis (*Hib. Exp.*, l. 1, cap. 18) tells us that the Irish of his time were accustomed to purchase from *merchants*, plunderers, and pirates, Englishmen and boys, sold by their relatives and friends into slavery, a crime which the Irish church, in a synod held at Armagh, in the reign of Roderick O'Connor, condemned as calling down on this nation the vengeance of heaven.

The trade in slaves, then, undoubtedly formed a portion of the early Irish commerce. But, judging from our ancient literature, the operations of the trade were not confined to the ports of Britain, Spain, or Gaul. The mouths of the Rhine and the Baltic were familiar to our merchants as well as to our corsairs long before the ninth century. "There is not any inherent improbability in the opinion," says the author of the *History of Maritime Discovery*, [vol. i., p. 216], "that the Scandinavians and the inhabitants of the British Isles navigated the northern seas for ages before their proceedings were known to history." There is no doubt that the term Lochlin, the general name given by the Irish and Scotch to all the northern nations, was well known, even before the Christian era, to the people of these islands. "The Sagas mention" says Worsaae [*Danes and Norwegians in England, &c.* p. 336] regular trading voyages to Ireland from Norway, and even from Iceland." "The Icelandic and Norwegian ships," he adds, "brought fish, hides, and valuable furs to the English and Irish coasts; whence, again, they carried home costly stuffs and clothes, corn, honey, wine, and other products of the south:" he however doubts that the Irish themselves, previous to the Viking expeditions in the ninth century, carried on any great trade, or had any very extensive intercourse with the rest of Europe. But this doubt has no better foundation than the fact that they had not yet minted any coins of their own, although he should have

been aware that a trade might have existed by the medium of barter, or of the valuable metals estimated by weight. We are not, however, without evidence of early Irish commerce, as has been shewn; to which may be added the fact, that in the treaty of peace and division of Ireland between Conn of the Hundred Battles and Eogan *Mór*, son of Oillioll Olum, king of Munster, in the early part of the second century, Conn agreed to give the Momonians 200 ships; and fifteen years later, the southern prince took umbrage, and made it a *casus belli* that more ships *(longaibh)* frequented Conn's (or the northern) side of the harbour of Dublin than his own. This was a matter of revenue and trade, and the idea it gives of the commerce of Dublin is, to some extent, confirmed by Jocelyn, who informs us that, in the fifth century, St. Patrick came to Dublin, a city noble in people, pleasant in site, and famous in commerce, &c.

Cormac Ulfada, king of Ireland, who flourished in A.D. 213, in his advice to his son, still extant, [see *Trans. Gael. Soc. of Dublin*, p. 31] admonishes him to cultivate and encourage commerce—"valuable wares from over the sea being necessary to the prosperity of a state."

With the fall of the Roman Empire in the west, and the introduction of Christianity, a new impulse was given to the intercourse of Ireland with other countries, in the growth of a missionary spirit, the practice of foreign pilgrimages, the influx of strangers to a country—like Ireland—enjoying a high reputation for religion and literature, abounding in great schools and monastic institutions, as testified by Bede, and other ancient authors. Out of such a condition of things, trade between Ireland and her neighbours must have advanced and flourished. Amongst other objects of the commerce of this period, we find wine mentioned, although we may well assume that it did not then for the first time commence. It formed, doubtless, a considerable item in the Irish foreign trade. In Christian times, it was required for the use of the altar, and for very general domestic consumption at the tables of the great and wealthy. In A.D. 534, the *Ard-righ* Muirchertach mac Earc was drowned in a puncheon full of wine [dolio pleno vino] at Cletigh, on the Boyne, the place of his residence. [*Ann. Tighernach*, p. 133.]

Again, we learn from the life of saint Ciaran, in the *Marsh MS.*, fo. 147, that certain Gaulish merchants, being at Clonmacnoise, presented the saint with a great vessel of wine, which he distributed amongst the fraternity. Vallancey states [vol. vi. p. 204] that the Brehon laws fix the duty payable on wines, figs, cocoa-nuts, &c.

Giraldus Cambrensis indicates the country—Poitou—with which the Irish traded, obtaining wine in exchange for their peltry: "ad Hibernos Pictaviam copiose vina transmisisse, eique animalium coria et pecudum, ferrarumque tergora, Hibernia non ingrata remittit." *Top. Dist.* i. cap. 3. He describes the Irish clergy (to whom he owed no special good will) as making up for their day's fasting by large potations of wine at night.

Of the trade with England, previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, we have some few notices.

According to Lucian the monk, who flourished in the reign of William of Normandy, the commerce of Chester was then very considerable; for he says its river was frequented by ships from Gascoigne, Spain, *Ireland*, and Germany, which imported all things necessary in abundance.

Under Muircheartach O'Brien, king of Ireland, who died in 1119, a close alliance was maintained with Henry I. of England. However, for some cause not recorded, Muircheartach gave offence to the English monarch; but soon after, on the suspension of navigation and commerce between the two countries, his insolence subsided. [*Wm. of Malmesbury's Chron.*, l. v.]

The same writer says that in 1139, Bristol was a place of much trade, and was then full of ships from *Ireland*, Norway, and every part of Europe.

William of Newbury [l. 2, c. 26] tells us that the commerce of Dublin, [*temp.* Hen. 2d] rivalled that of London.

Upon these notices, we may rest our proposition that ancient Ireland possessed a foreign commerce, notwithstanding that several writers have asserted the contrary. A few sentences in addition, as to the nature of the sailing craft or vessels in which the Irish carried on their trade, or transported their armed hosts in their hostile operations, may not be irrelevant.

It is to be regretted that in this portion of the subject, the information attainable is not by any means clear, but such as it is, we are enabled to deduce from it that the Irish were certainly little, if at all, inferior to their neighbours in the character of their vessels.

In all the countries of the old world we find, in early ages, boats constructed of the simplest materials, from the raft to the rude oak trunk hollowed out. Pliny relates that the German pirates sailed in boats scooped out of single trees, some of which were so large as to contain thirty men. Next to these primitive vessels was the *curach* or *corroch*. This term is the root of Chaucer's "carricke:"

> "And now hath Sathanas, saith he, a tayle
> Broader than a *carricke* in the sail;"

as it is also of the French *carraque*, and the Italian and Spanish *caraca*. It was formed of wicker, and covered with hides of the larger animals. Although common to all the Celtic races it was extensively known in other and far distant countries. Herodotus [l. i., c. 194] tells us of boats constructed in Armenia, formed of willow and covered with skins. These boats were of various dimensions, of a circular form, and had no distinction of head or stern, and were generally worked by two oars, one man to each. In these the ancients descended the Euphrates to Babylon. Vessels of this description have been found depicted in relief on the slabs discovered by Mr. Layard at Birs Nimroud. [*Nineveh and its Remains*, p. 220.]

A vessel of a similar figure, that is nearly round, called the *gaulus* ["Gaulus genus navigii pene rotundum."—*Festus.*] was in use by the Phœnicians. It was moved by the wind and oars; and, in the last century, John O'Keeffe, in his *Recollections* [vol. i. p. 118] describes the corrochs

seen by him on the Boyne as quite round, "like a scooped turnip." These were about 4 feet in diameter, and worked by little paddles about 2 feet in length. A vessel, of nearly a like form, used as a fishing "corracle," is still employed in Monmouthshire and other parts of Wales. It is formed of basket-work, covered with skins or canvas, and is generally about 6 feet in length and 3½ feet wide, without prow or stern.

We find such vessels also used in ancient times in the Sea of Oman and the Red Sea; in the latter, according to Strabo [L. 16], by the Sabœi. In India at the present day, canoes made of bamboo, and covered over with the hides of animals, are still in use.

The corroch was well known to the ancient Britons, as Cæsar and Avienus testify; so also to the Saxons [*Sidonius Apollinaris*] and the Venetians [*Lucan*]. Cæsar himself tells us he used such vessels in Spain, the same as in former years he says he had seen in Britain, the keel and ribs being of light timber, and the rest of wicker work, covered over with hides.—[*De Bel. Civil.* l. 1, 254.] In A.D. 363, the Emperor Julian covered the Euphrates with a fleet of 1100 ships, in his intended invasion of Persia: "the rest of the ships," says Gibbon, [*Decl. and Fall,* v. iv. p. 160] "partly constructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of utensils and provisions." Similar vessels are still used on the western coasts of Kerry, Clare, Galway, and Donegal. For the hide covering has been substituted pitch-coated canvass, a cheaper material than the hide, and easily repaired; they have no keel, and are rounded in the bottom, and they generally accommodate about five or six persons. Solinus, amid a heap of mis-information, gathered one *fact* regarding the Irish of his time—that they navigated the boisterous sea between Ireland and Britain in wicker boats. Lucan says of the Britons that they traded with Gaul in such vessels. The diminutive proportions and cheap materials of the Irish *curach* may be conceived from a Brehon Law extract, given in Dr. Petrie's work on the Round Towers [p. 342], wherein we find that amongst the stipends given to various artificers, four cows were payable for ship-building *(ar longaib)*, the same number for barks, and the like for curachs: although the vessels are thus distinguished by name, the payment is the same in all cases, which would imply but little difference in their proportions or character. That there were material distinctions, however, is certain enough.

It is stated that the Milesian invaders from Spain reached Ireland in a fleet of 126 ships [*ciuli*, as Nennius and O'Flaherty call them], and when approaching the coast, Aranman, the youngest of the sons of Milesius, lost his life by a fall from the *mast* of his ship among the rocks [a malo cadens in scopulos.—*Ogyg.*] Several of the succeeding monarchs of the Milesian race distinguished themselves by their marine exploits. One of them, Eochy Fuarcheas, who flourished in A.M. 3508 [*Ogyg.* p. 250], whilst he was contending for the crown of Ireland, waged war in vessels of this slight and fragile construction, and received his name from *fuarch*, a boat. In the curach, many of the adventurous descents on the coasts of Britain and Gaul in the latter periods of

Roman occupation were made. Some of them were used for trading as well as military purposes, as in the case of Brecan the Merchant, a grandson of Niall of the Hostages, who had 50 curachs trading between Ireland and Alba (Scotland): "*oc cendach itir Eirinn agus Alban.*"[b]

Originally coming from Spain in vessels of large capacity, the Milesians or Scoti were not likely to forget the means of transport used by them in their memorable expedition. Whether 120 or 30 vessels as variously stated, we are told that each carried 30 warriors besides their wives and attendants. [Haliday's *Keating*, 287.] These were fitted with decks and carried masts and sails. Their descendants it may be believed did not degenerate in their naval architecture; but that the vessels used by them were of any very large proportions we are not prepared to affirm. The largest ships used by the Celtic as well as by more advanced nations inhabiting the Mediterranean shores, were but little removed from the general class of curachs. Thus we find those of the Argonauts easily portable on land; for, when they arrived at the Lybian Syrtes, they carried their ships for twelve days on their backs through the desert until they again reached the sea, when they once more launched them. Improvements in navigation had but little advanced amongst the Greeks at a later period; for Strabo [l. 8] tells us, that in the time of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians transported their ships from one sea to another by land.

It is very probable that the vessels of the early Phœnicians, although of a superior character, were but ill adapted for long voyages and were equally impelled by oars as by sails. At the best, the timid navigation of those early times was confined to the coasts and was seldom made out of sight of land; and this may be readily assumed from the three years' voyage to Tarshish of the ships of Solomon, even under the experienced direction of Phœnician pilots. The vessels of the early Greeks were doubtless inferior, if we might judge by those constructed by Ulysses, on the island of Circe. They appear to have resembled our modern "hookers," half-decked, with a single mast and sail. In such vessels the voyagers seldom left the sight of land, and they were unacquainted with the use of the anchor. Turning our attention to the west of Europe, the ships of the Armorican Veneti as described by Cæsar, [l. 3, ch. 12] were no better. Although decked and masted, and using sails as well as oars, they were nevertheless rude and primitive enough. The bottoms were flat, and the sails were formed of hides. The ships of their neighbours, the Pictones and Santoni are described as badly capable of contending with the wide and open sea on their coasts. These were all worked by oars. Looking back to a period of English history so recent as the reign of the first Edward, *circa* 1304, we find that forty men were deemed sufficient to man the best and largest vessels of his fleet. Those of the time of Edward the Third seldom exceeded the burthen of forty tons. At the siege of Calais, in that reign, the king's fleet consisted of 738 ships, making

[b] From this Breacan, the formidable vortexes or whirlpools, one lying in the sound of Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, and the other in that between Scarba and Jura, on the west coast of Scotland, obtained their name. The latter is the "Corrivreckan" celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in the "Lord of the Isles." [Canto iv.]

up in numbers for their small tonnage, and each carrying only an average of about twenty men. One ship in that armament, from Ireland, carried twenty-five men.

In the long period intervening between the times of Cæsar and Edward the Third, our glance at the history of Irish navigation will give us but little satisfactory information as to the condition of Irish naval architecture. Our lexicons supply us with a variety of names for the vessels used in those ages as well as their different parts and apparatus, suggesting of course, a difference of character and structure, as appears by the following short list:—

*Slaod*, a raft or float.

*Coit*, a curach, a canoe made of a hollow tree; English, a *eott*.

*Curach*, a boat formed of wicker or laths, and covered with skins or pitched canvass.

*Bàd*, *coca*, and *laidhing*, a boat.

*Barc*, a small ship or bark.

*Scafa*, a skiff, a cock-boat; Lat., *scapha*.

*Long*, *Libhearn*, *Nasi*, *Naebh* and its diminutive *Naebhog*, [Lat., *navis*;] *Ligheang* and *Scib*, [Eng., *skiff*,] a ship.

*Carras*, a large ship.

*Cubal*, a ship; *Cablach*, a fleet.

*Fearna*, a mast of a ship; *Crann seoil*, the same; *Feirn seoil*, the lower end of a mast.

*Seoil*, a sail.

*Ancoire*, an anchor.

*Libheann*, the deck of a ship.

*Tota* and *Scarbuid*, the rower's seat in a boat.

*Muir feacht* and *Uiginge*, a fleet.

*Ard taoiseach Uiginge*, an admiral.

In the "Book of Rights" ships *(longa)* occur frequently amongst the stipends and tributes between kings and their subordinate chiefs. Thus a tribute to the king of Thomond was four ships, *(longa)* with a boat, (*laidhing*): p. 261.

Seven ships (*longa*) to the hero of Leim, *i.e.* the king of Corca Bhaiscinn: p. 75.

To the king of the *Deise*, (*Nan Deise*) a ship under full rigging, (*Long fa làin sheoladh*), p. 82.

The Ui Briuin of Connaught are styled "of the ships of the sea," (*longaibh na lear*), page 107.

Cathaoir *Mòr*, king of Ireland, who died in A.D. 158, bequeathed by his will seven ships of burthen to his son Breasal.

The ships of St. Brendan, in which he sought the promised land, were decked and carried sails. Giraldus, [*Top Hib.*, dist. 2, cap. 6, 13, 17,] asserts, that Iceland was the object attained in the wonderful voyages of this saint. Dr. Lanigan thinks that he reached America. In the

middle ages his discoveries gave rise to the belief in a great island in the Atlantic, which formed one of the incentives to Columbus. Iceland (Thule) was well known to Irish navigators in and before the age of Dicuil, and nearly a century before the discovery by Naddod in 825. Speaking of other islands, the Faroe or Feroe, north of Britain, he says—"these may be reached by good navigation in two days and nights, with *full sails*, and a favourable wind." "A trustworthy Clergyman," he says, "informed him that, after a voyage of two days and a night, in a small vessel of two banks of oars [duorum navicula transtrorum], he had entered one of those islands. Some of them had been inhabited nearly a century, by anchorites from our Scotia." [Letronne's *Dicuil*, c. vii., p. 39.]

Ships of large size are also mentioned in the life of St. Abban. Three of these are said to have carried 150 men. [*Colgan, A.SS.*, p. 615.]

Ionas, a disciple of St. Columbanus, relates in the life of that holy missionary, written before the year 630, that the ship in which the saint was compelled to embark, on being expelled from France in 610, by king Theodoric, was a Scottish [Irish] vessel, which was returning from the city of Nantes to the country of Columbanus.

In the life of St. Columba, by his successor in the abbacy of Iona, we are told that St. Colman, a disciple of Columba, made a voyage from Erris in a vessel furnished with sails and oars, and carrying a number of passengers; and, in another voyage, he is described as sailing away to the north, beyond all former experiences, for fourteen days in summer. In these instances, and in the following, we are introduced to vessels of the *curach* genus, much enlarged in size and capacity, and, as in St. Colman's case, furnished with sails. In these the adventurous navigators, fearless of the chances of the broad ocean, ventured into seas all but unknown to ordinary voyagers, and their daring is the more memorable because of the frail character of their boats.

Again, in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, there is a tale of the wanderings of Maelduin's ship for *more than three years* in the Atlantic.

The voyage of the sons of Ua Corra in the same ocean, performed about A.D. 540, is one of those ancient romantic relations, founded, as Professor O'Curry [*Lectures*, p. 289] remarks, on facts, but which, in the lapse of ages, and after passing through the hands of story-tellers whose minds were full of imagination, lost its original character, and became more and more fanciful and extravagant. The personages engaged in this adventure had commenced their youth in the practice of evil, but having afterwards become penitent, they constructed for themselves a great curach, covered with hides, three feet deep, and capable of carrying nine persons. In this they proceeded on a pilgrimage upon the broad Atlantic, trusting to the guidance of wind and tide, and during a voyage of forty days, visited several wonderful lands of a very mythical character.

In the ninth century the intercourse of the Norsemen assumed a different aspect from that which it anciently exhibited. A new spirit of enterprize and adventure, and a thirst for spoil and

new settlements suddenly animated them, and for two centuries held entire possession of the northern races. During this disastrous epoch their naval craft became well known on every sea, and appears to have been of various bulk. In their larger vessels they effected their more distant voyages; but we find them very frequently penetrating the shallow waters in our own country, and actively engaged with their "fleets," far in the interior, and spread upon our lakes and rivers. The vessels forming such fleets must be regarded as boats, for those of a larger kind would be totally useless in many such situations. Of the larger class of ships, we have, in Gibbon, a description of those of the Varangians as they appeared before Constantinople at this era, and we may safely presume that these were but little different from those of their countrymen in Western Europe at the same period. The bottom was scooped out of a beech or willow tree, but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, until it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast, to move with sails and oars, and to contain from forty to seventy men, with arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. [*Decl. and Fall*, v. x. p. 227.] We have no reason for thinking that the construction of such a vessel was above the means or the intelligence of an Irish shipwright, and we may believe that the contemporaneous vessels of the Irish were not inferior to the Viking ships. This may fairly be assumed from the accounts delivered to us of the naval fight between the two nations off Dundalk, in the succeeding century; when, upon the treacherous capture of Ceallachan, king of Munster from A.D. 943 to 953, by Sitric the son of Turgesius, an army and a fleet were fitted out for his rescue; the latter was planned under the command of Failbhe, king of Corcaduibhne in West-Kerry, who is sometimes designated as hereditary Admiral of Munster. This fleet was able to engage with that of Sitric, in the bay of Dundalk, and obtained a complete victory over the Norsemen, liberating the captive king.

In 1073, Diarmit, son of Tordelbach O'Brian, is recorded to have taken a fleet to Britain, whence he returned with a great prey.

With these evidences before us, we are disposed to close this part of the subject. It must be very evident, on a fair and dispassionate view of it, that although the shipping of the era under notice could not have been of a very imposing character, either numerically or by reason of the magnitude of the vessels in use, nevertheless it was not incapable of performing excellent commercial service, and not very inferior to that of the surrounding nations. Making all allowances necessary, we may accept the fact of an early and a frequent maritime intercourse, maintained by the old inhabitants of our island with foreign countries.

That gold should have formed a part of the importations or of the spoils arising out of this intercourse, is not only probable in itself, but we have proofs to that effect. The late Sir William Betham was of opinion that the Phœnicians imported gold to this island, but we have no evidence on that head, and will not therefore further dwell upon it. Roman, Saxon, and even

Arabian coins have been found in Ireland. Worsaae [*Danes in England*, p. 336] attributes the latter to the commerce carried on here by Scandinavian merchants. The former could only have been imported by returned military adventurers or in the course of trade. Gold, wrought or in ingots, doubtless formed a portion of the imported wealth. In the description of the mansion of *Crede*, daughter of the king of Ciaruidhe Luachra (northern Kerry) given in the *Agallamh na Seanoiridh*, a curious Fenian tract preserved in the *Book of Mac Carthy Riagh*, and now announced for publication by the Irish Ossianic Society, the poet-candidate for the lady's hand, in a poem addressed to her, alludes to "chair covered with *Alpine* gold." Indeed in this poem we have much of the furniture described as resplendent with gold and silver. The testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis will, probably, be received by many as higher authority in reference to foreign gold in Ireland. This writer expressly informs us that the Ostmen traded in gold with the Irish:—"Gold," he says, "which they (the Irish) covet in abundance, is imported among them by Ostmen merchants." This was in addition to the native produce in the same metal, since the same authority informs us: "aurum quoque quo abundat insula,"[c] &c. [*Hib. Expug.* lib. 2, cap. 15.]

To Spain, Gaul, and Britain, we may look for much of the supply of gold required in Ireland: with the first named country the Irish always kept up a close intercourse, claiming as they did a kindred connexion with it. The gold-mines of that country are mentioned by Roman writers, although the production of that metal therein has now long ceased. Strabo [l. 362, sec. 8,] informs us that gold was not only dug from the mines, but likewise collected in the river beds, the sand containing gold being washed down by the streams and torrents. It is well known that the auriferous wealth of Spain formed the principal inducement for commerce and colonization to the early Phœnician and Punic traders.

In Gaul also gold was said to have been found. We are aware that the river Ariège, in Gallia Narbonensis, received its Romanized name of *Aurigera* from the particles of that metal which then were found, as they still are, rolled along by its waters in its downward course. A general abundance of gold in Gaul may be implied from ancient writers. Strabo and Diodorus mention the golden ornaments worn by the Gaulish Druids, [see *Strabo*, l. iv., &c.] Tacitus testifies to its existence in Britain:—"Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ;" and Strabo says: "It produces corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron, which are exported thence." [*Strabo*, l. iv., c. 5.] So late as the reign of Henry VIII., Nicander Nucius says that, amongst the metallic wealth of England, "they have not *much* gold, but very much silver." [*Camden Society's Publication*, p. 21.] For gold in England and Wales, we may content ourselves with a

[c] Gold was not a native produce of the northern nations. Worsaae (*Danes in England, &c.*, p. 102) tells us that by means of the eastern connexions of Scandinavia, "metals otherwise totally unknown in the north, and especially gold, were certainly brought thither at a very early period from the mountains of the east." The Scandinavian merchant vessels, he says, "brought not only the wares of Scandinavia to the British islands and other countries of the west, they likewise brought merchandize from the remotest east."

general reference to Calvert's "*Gold Rocks of Great Britain and Ireland*," London 1853. A practical miner himself, he has elaborately collected such ancient evidence, derivable from books, records, as well as actual workings, as must satisfy all reasonable enquiry as to the extensive nature of the home supply. The principal localities pointed out by him in which this metal is found, are Cumberland, Cornwall, and Devon; but he states that in greater or less quantities it was found in forty counties. Camden [*Britannia*] says:—"This is certain, that both gold and silver were formerly extracted from several of our mines in Devon, Cornwall, and Cumberland." In the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. Calvert shews that the copper mine of Keswick produced gold; and he himself found it in the same locality. [p. 65.] "The mines of Cwmheisian and Dolfrwynog, in Wales, have produced gold, which was shewn at the World's Fair in 1851. The gold ores of Cornwall and Devon have been worked by five companies. At this time gold is raised in several mines in different parts of the island." [p. 73.] The same gentleman, in his investigations in Derbyshire, was enabled to discover, near Ashford, several specimens of native gold from a layer of earthy iron-stone.

In Wales (near Dolgelley), the Vigia and Clogan copper mining company, in their search for copper, found a lode so rich in gold that, in their operations for six months, they were able to shew a profit of £2,500 arising from the gold obtained, no less an amount than 983 oz. of that metal having been transmitted to London from their mines. The yield has been at the rate of about 36 oz. per week. [*Mining Journal.*] The evidence as to native gold in Scotland is equally satisfactory. Surface gold is shewn, as of old date to be abundant, as is also the produce of mines, much of which was coined into money at the Scottish mint. [*Calvert*, pp. 141, 144, 147, 160.] The notices of gold in Scotland extend back only to the 13th century—the reign of David I.—although it is believed that its discovery and use there were far more ancient. Hector Boethius mentions native gold found in Clydesdale, in the reign of James IV., and mines were worked at Crawford Muir in 1511. "It is stated that as much as £300,000 of gold was got from these mines, and that 300 men were employed." [*Calvert*, p. 130.] "A curious entry (of this period) is the issue of Scotch gold to form the regalia; thirty-five ounces being devoted to the Queen's crown, and forty-six to the King's. In James V.'s time a gold mine was found in Leamington Burn." With the native gold obtained in the time of Abraham Graybeard, a Dutch mining speculator in Scotland, "was made a very fair deep basin, without any addition of any other gold at Edinburgh. It contained within the brims thereof an English gallon of liquor." [d]

Gawyn Smith, in a list of mines in Scotland, includes the Clydesdale and Nithsdale gold mines, and says:—"It is a general report, that in times past the Kings of Scotland did quoyne in the miint, gold and silver from their own mines." [*Calvert*, p. 133.] The "bonnet-pieces" of

[d] According to *Nicholson's Scottish Historical Library*, it was presented by the regent Morton to the French King, filled with coined pieces of gold, called unicorns, made, like the vessel, of the native gold of Scotland.

James V. were reputed to be the produce of Crawford Muir gold. Charles I. had coronation medals struck at Edinburgh of this gold. These were engraved by Briot, and are of extreme rarity. The date is 1633, and the inscription on the edge records that the metal was found in Scotland. Mr. Calvert mentions nine Scottish counties as gold-fields, and says, that the largest nugget found in that country weighed three pounds, another thirty ounces, and others of six and five ounces. He estimates the produce of the Lanarkshire gold field, at various periods, as £515,000.

These notices, indicating the production and supply of gold in countries neighbouring to Ireland, and from which the latter may be supposed to have derived a portion of that wealth which she is found to have possessed, may be accepted, as affording very reasonable ground in support of the proposition here started. From these we may now glance at our own auriferous capabilities, and general mineral supplies.

Mr. Griffith[e] has remarked that, at some remote period, an ardent spirit of mining adventure must have pervaded this country, from the number of ancient mine excavations still visible in every part of it. The discovery of old copper mines at Muckross, in Kerry, old coal mines at Ballycastle, in the County of Antrim, of ancient shafts and implements of mining on the Westropp estate, in the County of Limerick, bordering on the Shannon, [O'Halloran's *Introd.* p. 209.] and the lead mine at Milltown, in the Barony of Tully, in the County of Clare—the oldest perhaps in Ireland, besides several others in various parts of the island, afford reasonable confirmation to our old historical traditions. In the Milltown mine it may be well supposed that there must have been a rich deposit, the ancient excavations, which were re-opened in 1836, being very extensive. In the workings some rude tools were discovered, such as oaken shovels, and iron picks; the latter of an extraordinary size and weight, also the remains of fires which had been evidently made use of, to crack and loosen the masses of calcareous spar and carbonate of lime, in which the ore of this mine is chiefly imbedded.[f]

The district which includes the Knockmahon mines, in the County of Waterford, says Sir Robert Kane, "has been long known for its mineral treasures, many of the metalliferous veins having been worked by the ancient inhabitants." One almost insulated promontory is perforated like a rabbit-burrow, and is known as the "Dane's island," the peasantry attributing these ancient mines, like all the other relics of remote civilization, to that enterprizing people. In the abandoned workings, antique tools, stone hammers and chisels, and wooden shovels have been found.

In searching, during the early part of 1846, for indications of copper ore in the west of the County of Cork, under the direction of Captain Thomas of Cornwall, no less than six old mine-holes were discovered on the lands of Derricarhoon, three miles N. E. of Ballydehob, of which no previous tradition, or even suspicion had been entertained. "They were all parallel lodes," writes my correspondent, Thomas Swanton, Esq., of Crannliath, "one was about thirty fathoms in length, and ten feet broad, but its *breadth* at the time when I received information of the discovery was

[e] *Report to the R. Dub. Society in* 1828. [f] Kane's *Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 211.

not fully known. They were found filled at bottom with rubbish, and at top were overlaid with bog stuff [peat], in some places to a depth of fourteen feet." A strange sort of a wooden tube, of a curved form and partly open in front, exhibited in Dublin at the Exhibition of 1853, and now in the writer's possession, and a ladder eighteen feet in length, formed of a single piece of black oak, with thirteen steps cut into it on one side [g] were also found. A number of stone implements lay at the bottom of the mine, weighing from three to seven lbs. each, having circular indentations, attributed by the peasantry to the working of the thumbs of the old miners. They were similar to those found in the old mine at Muckross, called "Dane's hammers," and depicted in Hall's "*Ireland*". These old shafts had been worked with considerable skill. Arches of rock uncut had been left by the miners, to keep the walls of the lodes from closing. "I may mention," says Mr. Swanton, "as perhaps a help to arrive at some conclusion as to the date of these works, that there is a stratum of whitish slime (such as runs off in the washing of copper) lying between two strata of bog, the upper of which is three-and-half feet thick; the bog in which this appears lies a few yards lower down the hill than the mouth of the mines."

In a record entitled "the rentyle of O'Connell," compiled in 1453, for the purpose of shewing the extent of the estates and services that lay within the ancient seignory of the O'Connell family, are many items such as the "ores of mines *then wrought there*." The lead mines, formerly worked at the village of "Silver mines," near Nenagh, in the County of Tipperary, yielded about three pounds of silver to the ton of lead. These mines, which were worked in the commencement of the reign of James I., gave evidence of earlier workings, as "shafts were seen, and every other proof of being wrought centuries earlier." [O'Halloran's *Introduction*, p. 209.] It has been conjectured that "Silver Mines" was the ancient "Arget Ros," where Eadna Airgtheach king of Ireland, [A.M. 3168,] had silver shields manufactured, which with horses and chariots he distributed amongst his followers, [*Ogygia*, p. 212,] and where Eadna the red, [A.M,. 3482,] ordered silver to be coined. But it is to be feared that there is no other proof of "Silver Mines" and "Arget Ros" being identical, but that the name *Arget* signifies silver, and *Ros* a plain. Now Arget Ros is described as being on the Nore, from which river Silver Mines is distant some thirty miles to the west: and, moreover, we are not informed that there were any mines at Arget Ros, and there is no tradition of any having been worked in that neighbourhood. [see Tighes' *Kilkenny*, p. 630.]

These instances of ancient mining operations are adduced merely to show that the Irish were neither unacquainted with, nor unskilled in, the art of mining, nor unaware of the mineral wealth which they possessed. Gold, therefore, which we now know that Ireland produces, was probably sought after, and turned to use when found. The evidences of this are not very numerous, but some of them are decisive enough.

[g] In an old mine at Corallio in Central America, Stephens *Incidents of Travel*, Vol. I., p. 347,] descended into a shaft, by a similar ladder, made of the trunk of a tree with notches cut into it.

In the time of Henry VI. it was known in England that gold was to be found in Ireland. The writer of a *Libel of English Policie*, printed in Hakluyt's voyages, mentions that this metal was produced here:—

"Of silver and gold there is the oore,
Among the wild Irish, though they be poore,
For they are rude, and can thereon no skille."

But he adds, that if in English hands "to mine and fine," no better metal could be had. The particular localities wherein this "oore" was found are not pointed out; probably that in Wicklow may have been then known, as it had been in ages previous.

Boate, in his *Natural History of Ireland*, published during Cromwell's dictatorship, mentions "from credible information," the finding of a small portion of native gold in a rivulet called the Miola, in Tyrone [*recte* Derry]. This appears to be borne out, according to the Rev. John Graham, who, in his account of the parish of Maghera [see Mason's *Parochial Survey*, p. 580] says, "the common people who live near the Moyola have a tradition corroborating Boate's report, but none of them have found any gold in the river." The Rev. Mr. Sampson [*Stat. Survey of Londonderry*, p. 105] adds to this, "that he had himself several specimens of quartz containing thin leaf gold." "These," he says, "are found on the surface," and are, as he believes, adventitious. To these we may append from a recent newspaper paragraph, that near Fivemiletown, in an adjoining county —Tyrone—gold had been discovered, but nothing further on the subject has since transpired. It is said that gold is occasionally obtained by the peasantry from the streams of the *Aura*, in Antrim. [*Telegraph Newsp.*] A report was also in circulation some years since, of gold having been found on the Earl of Erne's estate, near Lisnaskea, but further information regarding this has not been received. It is traditionally believed in Leitrim, that the mountain of Benbo (near Manor Hamilton) contains gold according to a popular *rann*: "*Is saidhbhre Beanna Bó inâ Eire fá dhó.*" "Benbo is richer by the double than all Eire besides." [*Kilkenny Proceed.*, N. S. i., 353.] Lewis [*Topog. Dict.*, i. 56.] tells us that at Ardpatrick, County of Limerick, gold ore has been found; and within the month of November just past [1862], it was announced through the newspaper press that gold in nuggets had been found on the lands of Fortland, near Crossmolina, in Mayo.

There may be nothing in all these statements, but they should not be rejected without positive evidence to the contrary. The record of the early working for gold in Wicklow was treated as a Bardic invention in this country a century ago, and received with entire incredulity. A practical existing authority [*the Mining Journal*] tells us that "gold is unquestionably to be found in various districts of the kingdom, both in "gosson" and in quartz; but it is a question whether it can be produced in sufficient quantity to render it a source of profitable industry." In ages when the population had but little occupation, and the pursuits of industry were few and scant, search for

this metal would have been more than compensated for by the precarious produce, and the rewards of their patient search would then be more highly appreciated than in modern times and in the altered condition of our peasantry.

In Wicklow, until the year 1795, as far as we have any evidence to guide us, the existence of gold would appear to have been unknown or forgotten, if we except a notice in Harris's *Ware*, vol. 1, p. 203, wherein it is stated that gold had been extracted from the copper mines of Wicklow. This was in 1746, long before the modern discovery of the gold mine in that country. Beyond this, neither in legend nor tradition, have we, from the days of Tigearnmas downwards, any reference to the existence of gold in this locality; and yet we cannot conceive that, in all this long interval, its existence was entirely unknown or forgotten. Common report now says, that for several years previous to the year above mentioned [1795], gold had been found in the Ballinvally stream, a tributary to the Ovoca, and sold in Dublin. It is said that in the short space of two months preceding the occupation of the place by the military in 1796, the peasantry had collected no less than 2,500 ounces of gold, which, being sold on the spot, produced nearly £10,000. The government operations, which were carried on as if it was a copper or lead mine they were working, proved unremunerative, realising the description of Moore:—

"Sparkles of golden splendour
All over the surface shine;
But if in pursuit we go deeper,
Allured by the gleam that shone,
Ah! false as the dream of the sleeper,
Like love, the bright ore is gone."

After the abandonment of the workings by the government, the peasantry, with better success, resumed their search. The gold has since been found "in massy lumps, and smaller pieces down to the minutest grain. One piece weighed twenty-two ounces, another eight ounces, a third nine ounces, and a fourth seven ounces."—[Calvert.] The first was sold for eighty guineas, and a gilt cast of it is deposited in Trinity College Museum. In 1856 a nugget was found there by a poor man, weighing six ounces, and valued at about £30. The gold localities in Wicklow are Croughan Kinshela, Ballinvalley, Ballytemple, Killahurlen, Croaghan Moira, Ballycreen, Ballynacapogue, and Cronebane. It has been ascertained from the Dublin goldsmiths that they purchase yearly to the extent of £2000 worth, which, if true, would amount, for the period of 63 years which have elapsed since the withdrawal of th military from the locality, to £126,000. Our annals are silent as to the auriferous produce of this district since the days of Tigernmas; but we are not, consequently, to determine that none has been sought for or obtained there during the long interval. On the contrary, all the probabilities are that this produce did not cease or become exhausted, and that for ages subsequently the supply was sustained, and, probably, with but little diminution

down to modern times; the knowledge being perhaps transmitted, in the long lapse of time, as a secret heir-loom in the breasts of a few of the scanty population of this wild district. If we assume, then, that for ages gold was washed down here and noiselessly collected, we may, without much exaggeration conclude, that a supply more or less abundant was obtained, not sufficient, doubtless, to meet the entire national demand, but an important contribution to the requirements of the goldsmith and worker in metals. Could we reasonably satisfy ourselves that, for a period of 2 or 3000 years since the time of Tigernmas, a quantity of gold equal in annual value to that gleaned since 1775 was obtained, we might, in that case, by the addition of such quantities as war, piracy, and commerce had been accumulating, fully and satisfactorily account for the presence of all the gold now preserved and hitherto discovered. The produce of Wicklow alone, under this supposition, would have been quite adequate.

By whom this supply had been manufactured, and from whom it received those peculiar characteristics of style and ornamentation which our ancient gold relics possess, has been a subject of diverse opinion amongst our antiquaries, several of whom are disposed to regard their fabrication as belonging to foreign artists. A comparison, however, of these with other existing remains, monumental and literary, may decide the question.

A well recognized and distinctive character, appreciable by every student in archæology, pervades our early architecture, stone and bronze crosses, reliquaries, shrines, croziers, incised slabs, manuscript illuminations, engraved implements, &c., giving to them a national peculiarity at once distinguishable from similar objects in other countries. This character belongs to no one period; it is equally observable upon Pagan and Christian works. Although appropriate to the Scoto-Celtic Gaels of Ireland, its transmission from the east (where doubtless it originated at a period of remote antiquity) may be readily traced along the line of colonization followed by that race, in their progress from the Aryan regions in Asia, and along the Mediterranean shores of Africa, to Spain. The analogy between many Irish antiquities and those of India and Northern Africa is often so very striking as to be suggestive, even if we had no other testimony, of an almost common origin. Thus, in our "Ring-money," Torques, Brooches, Armillæ, &c., we can distinguish a character quite similar to those in foreign use, or to those depicted on Egyptian, Assyrian, or Persian monuments. For the Brooch alone, we may be content to refer to an engraving in the *Ulster Journal*, vol. v. p, 246, from originals brought from Morocco by Mr. Francis Jennings, of Cork, in 1856. The *Kefkiat*, as it is called in that country and the Berber States of the old Numidia and Getulia, is all but Irish in form and ornamental treatment. Indeed, other existing remains of great antiquity in those regions unmistakeably testify to the sojourn therein, as our history declares, of the forefathers of the Gael. What we call Druidical monuments, such as Cromleacs, circles and pillar-stones, are as frequent near Tangier, Tunis, and Thebes, as they are in India and Ireland. The Irish "keen" (*caoine*), or funeral-cry, may still be heard in upper Egypt,

and Algeria, as customarily as when Herodotus himself heard it chaunted by Lybian women, centuries before our era. The garment of many colours, and the butter so rare in Oriental lands, are common still in Morocco. The superstitions of the people are of Hibernian complexion. So also in Egypt: its mythology possesses many striking resemblances to the polytheism of ancient Ireland, whilst its language, as represented by the Coptic, is now found to have much affinity to Gaelic. It may be added that our older senachies trace more than one colony to Ireland from Africa. The Fomorians (*Fomoruidh*), who appear here in the very earliest times, are said to have been Africans of the posterity of Cham [*Oyyg.* p. 7, also *Ord. Surv. of Derry, p.* 182.] Dr. Petrie [*ib.* p. 230] looks upon our bronze weapons and other metallic remains, as "Punic or early Greek." Such resemblances are not so generally to be found amongst the British and continental Celts; for whilst the latter were a divergent race, and mainly Cimric, ours seem to have been a portion of that great Celtic swarm, which at an early period hived off from the central Asiatic cradle of its origin, and by various routes intermingling in their south western progress with other races of different descent, formed the mixed Scotic colony which, coming last from Spain, occupied this island several centuries before our era. The Iberian Celtæ would, therefore, more naturally present such analogies, for Spain was the first resting-place in Europe of our Fenian Gael, after they had quitted the Lybian shores.

The ingenious writer, in the 7th vol. of the *Ulster Journal*, upon Irish gold, finding a large amount of credible evidence before him of the prevalence of gold antiquities in Africa, Egypt, Palestine, and India, of a type curiously resembling those found in Ireland, *conjectures* that this type was introduced here by Jewish fugitives, after the fall of Jerusalem. But if this were so, why, it may be asked, did not Jewish exiles impart elsewhere a similar style of manufacture and of ornamentation? If the ingenious theorist had considered the Irish national tradition of the personified *Fenius* giving name to the nation *Tuatha Fene*, or "Populi Pheniorum" of St. Fiech; the Egyptian Scota; and the sojourn in Getulia and Spain, he might have found a simpler solution for the striking kindred features which he observed as so remarkable, without seeking for the aid of Jewish exiles. National history would have informed him of the connexion of southern Scythæ and Phœnicians with Palestine; that the language of the latter people was nearly identical with that of Judea; and that the Hebrews had borrowed much of their arts from the Phœnicians and Egyptians. Hiram, "an artificer, out of Tyre," was employed by Solomon in the construction of the temple [Kings, vii., 14]; and doubtless the same prince borrowed also from his neighbours of Egypt, whose excellence in art was at its zenith in his day. Solomon himself was married to a daughter of Pharaoh [1 Kings, iii., 1]. The inference, then, would be, that instead of Moorish Jews introducing their arts into Ireland, the Irish derived those arts from their own ancestry in Asia and Africa.

But what, after all, if the Irish themselves were Jews? In the search for the lost tribes of Israel, a grave and religious Irish speculator persuaded himself that he had found unquestionable vestiges

of them here, despite the authority of the *Book of Tobit* which mentions upper Media as the place of deportation of the transplanted tribes, and of the claims of Afghanistan and China, or even of their actual discovery in America by Solomon Spalding, the precursor of Joe Smith, the Mormon prophet! The wonder is that the happy discoverer of the "Israelitish descent of the ancient Irish,"[h] did not enlist into his proofs the very significant presence in Galway of the "twelve tribes," forming its ancient community. Mr. Clibborn's discovery that St. Patrick was a Jew, and the *Craobh Ruadh* a fraction of the tribe of Benjamin, would have been a valuable contribution to the evidences of the "Israelitish descent." But it is to be feared, that even with such aids, in these days of a somewhat enlightened archaeology, this notable theory has not much chance of finding acceptance. From our annals it would appear, that Jews, at various periods, did find their way here, but they were never welcome guests. On the arrival of the sons of Milesius, which is supposed to have been contemporaneous with the building of Solomon's temple, they found in Ireland Jewish women, who had been driven to our shores by a tempest. [O'Curry's *Lectures*, p, 16.] After an interval of about *two thousand* years, another arrival of Hebrews is recorded, when according to the *Annals of Inisfallen*, at the year 1062, [*recte*, 1079,] five Jews from beyond the sea brought presents to Tordelbhach O'Brien; but they were notwithstanding expelled from the country. [*Rerum. Hib. Script.*, vol. 2, p. 81.] Neither of those events—and they are the only references to Jews in Ireland we have met with in our reading—could certainly have had much influence upon our native art.

The proposition for which we would endeavour to contend resolves itself in brief terms into this, that the origin of Irish art—the prototype—is to be sought for in the same Eastern regions whence the remote ancestry of the Feni or Scoti is to be deduced. With them this people brought the germ, which became afterwards elaborated and expanded in the island where they finally located themselves; and when so perfected, they adhered to the forms and style with an oriental persistence and unchangeableness until the latest period of their independent existence. The original idea, although strongly influencing the mind of the artist, received from his fancy and inventive genius a gradual development, which, affected by the national isolation, assumed settled conventional features, remaining peculiar to the Irish family of the Celts for many succeeding ages. We have occasionally faint indications of the influence of this Irish school, in some ancient remains in the Isle of Man and in Scotland, and less frequently in Cornwall and some other parts of England; but its appearance in those places must be attributed mainly to the large Gaelic element occasionally infused into the population of the two first mentioned countries, and more sparingly into those last

[h] "Our countrymen," says the author (*Christian Examiner*, vols. v. & vii,) "owe there origin to captive and exiled Israel." See also Neymo's *Similitudes of the Israelites and the Irish*: "Canaan and Erin," says the author, "were each divided among st twelve tribes. Jerusalem became the capital of one country; Cong, and afterwards Galway, were for a long period the chief towns of the other; and the latter is still familiarly known as the 'Citie of the Tribes.'" p. 3.

named; and again, to the intercourse created in the early Christian ages by the zeal of missionaries from Ireland on the one hand, and the influx from England on the other of persons seeking religious and literary instruction in our great colleges.

The style of art displayed in the filigree or interlaced knot-work, is the great distinctive feature of ornamentation, and is peculiar to the Irish family of the Celts, having been very properly termed "Opus Hibernicum."[1] The name of "Runic Knot," has sometimes been applied to this style of ornament, but most erroneously, as no comparison can be instituted between the Runic patterns and those common on our early stone monuments, pottery, metallic works, MS. writings, shrines, bells, and book-covers, the latter exhibiting in their ever varying designs and combinations, a wonderful fertility of invention and excellent taste. As regards the single article of our sepulchral urns alone, Sir Richard Colt Hoare [*Tour in Ireland*, p. 295] acknowledges that the Irish urns are more ornamented than those found in the British barrows, and adds that our articles of gold are richer and more numerous; "for" he remarks, "I have been seldom fortunate enough to find articles of gold in our Wiltshire barrows." But this superior wealth he attributes to the Belgic tribes, who reached Ireland, according to his conjecture, from Southern Britain; forgetting, as theorists will sometimes do, that those Belgæ had not manifested such a "superior richness" in their works in the parent British country.

On the subject of Irish art, however, it is not here necessary to enter at large. Webb's *Analysis*, Moore's *Ireland*, Petrie's and Henry O'Neill's works, contain almost all that is necessary on this head. Its distinguishing characteristics are ably pointed out in the address delivered in 1857, by the late Mr. Kemble to the Royal Irish Academy. [See *Proc.* vol. vi., p. 462.] There have been those who have entirely denied to Ireland the workmanship of these remains. But this opinion would appear the result of prejudice against the country and its people, rather than of reason or authority. That we are not indebted to foreigners, and that Ireland possessed a native school of artists fully capable of producing the work which has descended to us, we can learn from our ancient writings; but the evidences of this we cannot now do more than briefly glance at. Workers in metals are named at the earliest periods of our pagan history, and also in our hagiology. They were held in the highest estimation; the smith especially was regarded as invested with superhuman attributes of intelligence and power. Amongst the Tuatha-de-Dananns he ranked as a demi-god, as he did in the Greek and Roman as well as Scandinavian mythology; the Vulcan of one being the Vaeland or Wayland Smith of the other. The names of *Goibhnean*, *Goibhneach*, or *Garida*, from whom Lough Gainy in West Meath is called, and who, according to tradition, worked the mines of the mountain of Sliabh-an-Iarainn, and fabricated the wonderful spit of Dechin; as also of *Creidne*, who supplied to *Nuadha Airgead-lamh* a hand of silver: of *Neehin*, the smith of Tara: of *Drinne*, who

[1] A late writer has with much ingenuity traced the origin of this style to an imitation of *basket-work*—or the interlacing of osiers, in which the Celtic nations excelled. This does not preclude importation and an Eastern origin.

made the *Inneoin* [anvil] of the Daghdha; and *Cuilean ceard* of Sliabh Cuilinn (the foster-father of Cuchullin) are distinguished in the ancient Irish pantheon. *Brighit*, the goddess of the poets, thought it not unworthy of her other high attributes to preside over smiths also. [*O'Don. Four Mast.*, i. 21.] The ordinary smith of common life is, to this day, regarded by the peasantry as endowed with magical power and influence. In ancient times he was looked on as a sorcerer and an adept in necromancy; and St. Patrick himself was infected by the popular credulity, as in his hymn, preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, he prays to be protected from the incantations of women, smiths [*goband*], and Druids. The Goban Saer of tradition was more than humanly gifted with wisdom. In the Scoto-Milesian period, handicraft arts were held in similar estimation. The artizan [*saer*], that is to say, the *Humaidid* [brazier], the *Gobain* [smith], the *Rinnaire* [engraver], and *Nascaire* [ring maker], had their respective places of honour assigned to them in the regal hall of the Miodhchuarta at Tara, and at the table of the king. In Christian times art was much encouraged by the church. St. Patrick had in his own establishment workers in the various metals, for manufacturing sacred utensils. The religious excellence of some of these men has obtained for them a place in the Irish Calendar of Saints. His three "Fabri cerarii" were Asicus, Biteus, and Tasoach; and his three "Fabri ferrarii" were MacCecht of Domnach Lochain (who wrought the famous bell or reliquary call *Finn-faidheach*, or "sweet-sounding"), Fortchern of Rathaidne, and St. Dageus, the latter the most celebrated. ["Campanas, cymbala, baculos, cruces, scrinia, capsas, pyxides, calices, discos, altariola, chrysmalia, librorumque coopertoria, quædam horum nuda, quædam verò alia auro atque argento gemmisque pretiosis circumtecta, pro amore Dei et sanctorum honore, sine ullo terreno pretio, ingeniosè ac mirabiliter composuit." *Vit. A.SS. Aug.*, tom. iii.] He was also a distinguished scribe. He was said to have manufactured 300 bells, 300 pastoral staves, and written 300 copies of the Evangelists.

Conla was a celebrated artificer in brass, of the fifth or sixth century. [See *O'Donnell's Life of St. Columbkille.*] He fabricated a shrine of great beauty, long preserved at Dun Cruthen, near Lough Foyle. Colgan says that his fame originated a familiar proverb when praising a work of gold or brass as superior, that Conla himself could not surpass it, or that even Conla could not repair or restore what was regarded as irreparable or injured. [*Tr. Th.* 451.] St. Brigit also employed skilful artists for the service of her great religious establishment.

In the third life of St. Columba, in Colgan [*Tr. Th.* p. 32], the saint is reported to have become miraculously aware of the death of a holy "faber ferrarius," named Colum Coilrignius, who dwelt in the central region of Ireland. The saint notices the event, and the ascent of the smith into heaven. Again, in the fifth life of the same saint [p. 431], St. Senachus, called "faber," following his calling on the margin of Lough Erne, became one day aware of the imminent danger of St. Columba and his companions at sea, by reason of a tempest caused by a huge sea-monster: "arrepto forcipe cadentem ab igne ferri massam elevat, et officinâ confestum egressus in sublime projecit;

quæ divina virtute ab tanto intervallo ad oceanum usque perlata in præferocis belluæ, quæ viri sancto navigio imminebat, apertum oris hiatum rectè decidit et extemplò interemit." St. Senachus was brother, by the mother, to St. Columba.

Saints sometimes, when artificers were scarce, imparted the necessary skill to men uneducated in handicraft. Thus, when St. Maidoc, of Ferns, was desirous of building a church, he could find no artificer; but confiding in God, he blessed the hand of a certain uninstructed man named Gobban, and, forthwith, he became a most suitable workman, and afterwards built that church with consummate art. [*A.SS.* 214.] St. Columba signalizes himself by a like miracle, as by a word he converts an ignorant youth into a smith, who forthwith forges a ploughshare. On another occasion he restores to life a smith who had been drowned in a mill-pond. [*Tr. Th.*, p. 399.]

It would indeed be as unreasonable to deny that the Irish had artizans capable of manufacturing torques, lunettes, armillæ, brooches, shrines, ring-money, &c., as that they had sculptors of stone crosses, builders of cyclopean masonry, of round towers, of such churches as those of Clonfert, Freshford, Roscrea, Cashel, &c., or fabricators of shrines and chalices, or excellent scribes. The style and character of taste pervading all these remains and relics unmistakeably refer to one national original type The execution also exhibits a high degree of skill, and shews that the Irish of those early days of semi-barbarism cultivated with diligence and success, and thoroughly understood the principles of decorative art. Certainly they far excelled in this respect all their neighbours in western Europe; and, instead of borrowing or being indebted to them, they rather acted as instructors, and influenced the art products of those neighbours. Mr. Kemble (to whom reference has been made more than once in these observations) pronounced a brooch, which he had seen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, to be the most beautiful thing of the kind, with one exception, which he had ever met with, and the exception he made was in favour of another Irish brooch in the collection of Dr. Petrie. There were very few jewellers of the present day, he said, who could imitate either of these small but magnificent works of art. The pattern in filigree work was essentially different from that of the gold ornaments of the same period of antiquity found on the continent. The relics of Teutonic art were unlike it both in design and in execution. Besides, in the Celtic ornaments alone was enamel used to fill up the spaces of the work: this enamel was a substance unknown to the early Teutons.

"The many curious and costly ornaments of dress," says Mr. Gough, (in *Camden*, iv., p. 233-4,) "every day dug out of the fields, afford abundant proofs that the arts once flourished in Ireland, and that the precious metals were not unknown there. Of the latter, many are exquisitely wrought; many of such intrinsic value as to prove that gold and silver ore abounded in Ireland in prodigious quantity, that there was a time when the Irish had more than the bare necessaries of life, and when poverty did not compel them to pay their taxes in cattle. The greater part of these are originals in their kind, unlike any thing known at present, and of such decided antiquity that

even their uses and purposes can rarely be inferred from any analogy derived from things in use at this day; tending in the clearest manner to demonstrate that the ancient arts and fashions of this island have not been borrowed from Britain at any time since the Norman conquest."

In another department of ancient Irish art—our Palæography—competent judges, beginning with Giraldus Cambrensis in the 12th century,[j] have pronounced the execution of our MS. remains as miracles of skill and taste; the illuminations being only equalled by the beauty of the penmanship. Mr. J. O. Westwood (a name well known in our modern archæology) has declared that *The Book of Kells*, now preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, is "unquestionably the most elaborately executed monument of early Christian art in existence." [*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria.*]

Mr. Worsaae [*Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland,* pp. 336, 351,] would attribute all this excellence, so indicative of culture and civilization, to the influence of the Scandinavian occupation of Ireland, which by *introducing* (?) trade and navigation to an extent before unknown, opened up this country to the rest of Europe and its continually advancing civility; yet he admits, notwithstanding this rather startling claim, that previously to A.D. 800, the Irish must have attained no mean degree of civilization, and that with regard to education, they must, in certain respects, have been a great deal in advance of the heathen Northmen. In this rather conflicting and not very probable view, Ireland, at one time civilized, must have retrogaded until her degeneracy was arrested by a people who themselves have left in Ireland no monument or memorial of their alleged enlightenment, not even a solitary Runic inscription to record their scanty knowledge of letters, whilst their Irish coinage is an evidence of utter barbarism.

Without further multiplying extracts in support of the weighty judgments here adduced, we may conclude by placing in contrast to them the very opposite views of writers influenced by a hostile prejudice against Ireland, and her ancient remains. These opinions will merely shew in what spirit our archæology has sometimes been dealt with, and will of course be received at their value. "In all the arts of civil life" says Sir William Petty, who wrote about two centuries ago, "they [the Irish] were little superior to the Indians of North America." Pinkerton, at a period more recent, is still more extreme. "Irishmen!" he exclaimed, "the Greeks and Romans pronounce you not only barbarous but *utterly savage.* In the name of science, of argument, of common sense, where are the *slightest* marks of ancient civilization among you? Where is the least trace of ancient art or science in your whole island? The old inhabitants of your country, the *wild Irish*, the true Milesian breed, untainted with Gothic blood, we *know* to be rude clans at this day. Can a nation once civilized ever become savage? Impossible!"

JOHN WINDELE. *Cork.*

[j] Cambrensis, speaking of the Kildare MS. of the Evangelists which he had seen, calls it "liber mirandus," and speaks of its illuminations in terms of the most extravagant praise, as the work of angels rather than of men. Ultan, an ancient Irish monk, was celebrated as a scribe, and as excelling in the art of book ornamenting: "Ultanus scriptor et pictor librorum erat optimus." [*Rerum. Hib. Script.* v. i., p. 179.]

# SIX HUNDRED GAELIC PROVERBS COLLECTED IN ULSTER.

BY ROBERT MacADAM.

(*Concluded from Vol.* vii., *p.* 287.)

## *Good and bad Luck.*

458. Is fearr an t-àgh maith nà èirigh go moch. [Good luck is better than early rising.]
Many people are seen to succeed in the world without much exertion, while others who toil early and late are unsuccessful. This is attributed to "luck."
Scotch. *Better be sonsie as soon up.*

459. Is fearr a bheith sona nà crìonna. [It is better to be lucky than wise.]
Italian. *Val più un' oncia di fortuna che cento di sapere.*
French. *Mieux une once de fortune qu'une livre de sagesse.*
Scotch. *Gie a man luck and fling him in the sea.*

460. Guid è a bhain dò?—an rud a bhi a g-cos na ceirce, (sin a mi-àgh)—[What happened to him? What was at the hen's foot (that is, bad luck.]

461. Ma 's fada a bhios an t-àgh, thig se fa dheireadh. [Though luck may be long in coming, it comes at last.]
English. *When things are at the worst they'll mend.*

462. Anns' a deireadh thig a biseach. [The luck comes in the end.]

463. Lèig an donas chun deiridh, a n-dùil s' nach d-tiocaidh se choidhche. [Leave the bad luck to the last, in hopes that it may never come.]
A dangerous advice, too often followed in Ireland.
English (Ulster). *Let the want come at the web's end.*

464. Biann a mhi-àgh fèin a' brath air gach duine. [Every man has his own little bad luck awaiting him.]

465. Biann àgh air amadan. [A fool has luck.]

466. Fuair se air siubhal eadar cliath a's ursainn. [He got off betwixt hurdle and door-post.]
In former times the doors of cottages in Ireland were made, not of wood, but of wattled hurdles. The proverb signifies "he had a hair-breadth escape;" or else, "he got away secretly," because the hurdle-door in shutting made no noise.

467 Chan mur shaoiltear a chnochn'ar. [Things do not end as we expect.]

468. Là fheil' Pàdruig earraigh, biann nead air gach coill, breac air gach linn, agus laogh boinionn ann gach airidh-bhò a n-Eirinn. [On Saint Patrick's day, in the Spring, there is always a nest in every wood, a trout in every pool, and a heifer-calf in every dairy-cow in Ireland.]

469. Gaoth ò dheas, teas a's toradh;
Gaoth ò n-iar, iasg a's boinne;
Gaoth ò thuaith, fuacht a's feannadh;
A's gaoth ò n-ear, meas air chrannaibh.
[A wind from the south brings heat and produce;
A wind from the west, fish and milk;
A wind from the north, cold and flaying;
And a wind from the east, fruit on trees.]

470. An lonn dubh a sheineas go binn 's na Faoilligh, gulaidh se go cruaidh 's a Mart. [The black-bird that sings sweetly in February will lament bitterly in March.]

471. 'Sè an sioc soinionn an earraigh,
'Sè 'lionas fearantaidh le stòr;
B' fhearr eith cloch-shneachta a d-tùs an Iobràin
Nà leathad an aigeàin de 'n òr.
[Frost is the fair weather of spring-time,
And fills the lands with abundance;
Better a shower of hail in April
Than the breadth of the ocean of gold.

472. Fiach dubh foghmhair, agus feannog earraigh. [A black raven in Autumn, and a scald-crow in Spring.]

These are signs of good weather.

473. Nodhlaig ghlas agus roilig mhèith. [A green Christmas and a fat church-yard.]

474. Ceatha Iobràin a neartuigheas na saorelann. [April showers strengthen the butter-cups.]

Latin. *Imbribus innumeris campos humectat Aprilis.*

Spanish. *Mas vale un agua entre Abril y Mayo que los bueyes y el carro.* [A rain between April and May is worth more than the oxen and the cart.]

*Marzo ventoso y Abril aguanoso sacan à Mayo hermoso.* [A windy March and a rainy April make a fine May.

English. *April showers make May flowers.*

475. Trath 'ghoireas a chuach air a sgeathach lom, diol do bhò a's ceannaigh arbhar. [When the cuckoo cries on the bare thorn bush, sell your cow and buy corn.]

476. Is bliadhain shòghmhuil shocharaidh
Bliadhan ròghmhuil sgeachairidh.
[An abundant year of haws is a prosperous and profitable one.]
Scotch. *A haw year is a braw year.*

477. Oidhch' fheil' Finnìn finn
'Sè a thig rinn air an uair;
Agus là Padruig na bh-feart
A bheir neart do'n chloch fhuar.
[At the festival of St. Finnan the fair
An edge comes on the weather;
And the festival of St. Patrick of the miracles
Gives new strength to the cold stone.]
French. *A la fête Saint Thomas*
*Les jours s'agrandissent d'un pas.*
Saint Thomas's day is the shortest day in the year, and three days before Christmas, when it is said that the weather always changes to bad: it improves about the 17th of March, St. Patrick's day. St. Finnin who gives the old name to the festival, preserved in the proverb, was not a saint of the Roman calendar: St. Thomas's day was named in honour of Thomas à Becket.

478. Trì là lomartha an loinn,
Trì là sgiuthanta an chlaibhreàin,
Agus trì là na bò riabhaighe.
[Three days for fleecing the black-bird,
Three days of punishment for the stone-chatter,
And three days for the grey cow.
The first nine days of April are called the "borrowing days." The old legend relates that the black-bird, the stone-chatter, and the grey cow bid defiance to March after his days were over: and that, to punish their insolence, he begged of April nine of his days, three for each of them, for which he repaid nine of his own. A writer in the London *Notes and Queries* (vol v. p. 342) gives a different version: "I remember, when a child in the North of Ireland, to have heard a very poetical explanation of the *borrowing days* of March and April. 'Give me,' says March, 'three days of warmth and sunshine for my poor young lambs while they are yet too tender to bear the roughness of my wind and rain, and you shall have them repaid when the wool is grown.'" The Scotch have a proverb on the *three* borrowing days, which is still heard in Ulster:—

*March borrowed frae April*
*Three days, and they were ill:*
*The first day was wind and weet,*
*The second day was snaw and sleet,*
*On the third day cam sic a freeze*
*That it friz the bird's nebs till the trees.*

Of course it is to be understood that this proverb, like many others relating to the weather, is only applicable to the "Old Style."—
The French have a proverb which refers to the interchange of weather between March and April:—
*Quand Mars fait Avril, Avril fait Mars.*

479. Ma thig a Mharta a steach mur a leomhan, thèid si a mach mur an uan. [Though March comes in like the lion, it goes out like the lamb.]

480. Is tuar fearthana alt àilleog. [A flock of swallows is a sign of rain.]

481. Geimhreadh ceòthach, earrach ròghach,
Samhradh rìabhach, agus foghmhar grianach.—
Geimhreadh ròghach, earrach ceòthach,
Samhradh grianach, agus foghmhar riabhach.
[A misty winter, a pleasant spring;
A variable summer, and a sunny autumn.—
A pleasant winter, a misty spring,
A sunny summer, and a variable autumn.]

482. Dearg a n-iar, is ionann è a's grian,
Dearg a n-oir, is ionann è a's sioc.
[Red in the west (i.e., after sun-set) is a sign of sun-shine:
Red in the east is a sign of frost.

483. Bogha fliuch na maidne, bogha tirm an trathnòna.
[A wet morning rain-bow, a dry evening rain-bow.]

484. Dearg a n-ùas, fearthain a's fuacht,
Dearg a n-oir, fearthain a's sioc,
Dearg a n-ìos, fearthain a's gaoth,
Dearg a n-iar tuineadh a's grian.
[Red in the south means rain and cold,
Red in the east, rain and frost,
Red in the north, rain and wind,
Red in the west, thawing and sun.]

485. Rith con air a mònaidh, oidhche fhoghmhair ag tuitim. [The closing in of an autumn evening is (like) the running of a hound on a moor.]
An autumn night comes on quickly.

486. Nà mol a's nà di-mol goirt
No go d-ti go rachaidh an mhi mheodhan thart.
[Neither praise nor dispraise growing crops, till the month of June is over.]
The end of June tells the fate of the crops.

487. Iobràn bog braonach a bheir boinne aige bà a's ag caoraigh. [A soft dropping April brings milk to cows and sheep.]

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*Allusions to superstitions and customs.*

488. Beidh tu beò an bhliadhain so, a nois a bhìmoid a' tracht ort. [You will live during this year, for we were just speaking of you.]

Said when a person arrives just when others are talking of him.

489. A n-diùgh an Aoine a's (go soirbhidh Dia dhòibh) cha chluin siad sinn. [This is Friday and (God prosper them!) they don't hear us.]

Alluding to the fairies. The Irish are averse to naming them directly.

490. Aghaidh gach nidh fa dheas. [The front of everything to the South.]

A ploughman in Ireland uniformly turns his horses' heads to the south when yoking or unyoking them. The glass is always sent round at table from left to right, or with the course of the sun. This is a custom derived from pagan times; and the people say that all ancient graves placed to the south are those of pagans.

491. Cuir an gloine thart fa dheas. [Send round the glass to the south; or, to the right hand.]

492. Fios cionn fiaigh. [The knowledge of the raven's head.]

The raven is believed to forebode.

493. Fèuch nach n-dean tu droch-amharc air. [Take care lest you cast the evil eye on him.]

Referring to the superstition of the *Evil Eye*, which is still prevalent throughout the East, as well as in many parts of Europe.

494. Chuala me an chuach 's gan biadh ann mo bhroinn,
An cheud selide a' siubhal air a leac lom,
Uan dubh 's a tòn liom,
'S nach b' fhuras damh aithint nach n-èireochadh an bhliadhain sin liom.
[I heard the cuckoo when I had no food in my belly; the first snail (that I saw) was creeping on a bare stone; and I saw a black lamb with its rump towards me; so it was easy for me to know that I would not prosper that year.]

All believed to be bad omens.

495. Ni fearr dhuit Aoine throsgadh
Nà dar-daol a losgadh.
[A Friday's fast is not better for you than to burn a *dar-daol*.]

The *dar daol* or "black jet," a small species of beetle, is superstitiously feared as unlucky and poisonous, and is always thrown into the fire whenever it appears in a house.

496. Ta cam roilig ann a chois. [He has the church-yard crook in his foot.]

That is, "he is *reel-footed*." The superstition is that if a woman at a funeral rubs the earth of a grave-yard off her foot, her next child will be deformed in this manner.

497. An rud a sgrìobhas a Pùca, leigheadh se fèin è.
[What the *Pooka* writes, let him read it himself.]

498. Ta se comh fìor 's go bh-fuil Pùca, a g-Ceanadas.
[It is as true as that there is a *Pooka* in Kells.]

499. Dia, a's Muire, a's Eòin baiste linn. [God, and the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist be with us!]

A very usual exclamation when any person is heard to sneeze; as evil spirits are supposed to have power over human beings whenever this happens.

500. Nà crèid feannog no fiach
No Dia brèige mna;
Moch no mall mur èireochas a ghrian,
'S mur is toil le Dia a bhìos a là.
[Do not believe the scald-crow nor the raven,
Nor any false deity of the women;
Whether the sun rises early or late
It is according to God's will the day will be.]

"*Among the Romans not a bird*
*Without a prophecy was heard;*
*Fortunes of empires often hung*
*On the magician magpie's tongue;*
*And every crow was to the state*
*A sure interpreter of fate.*"—CHURCHILL.

"*Old crows settled on the path;*
*Dames from milking trotting home*
*Said the sign foreboded wrath,*
*And shook their heads at ills to come.*"—CLARE.

501. Chuir si bioran suain ann a chionn. [She has put a *bioran suain* in his head (his hair).]

Said of a profound sleeper. The *bioran suain* was a magical pin that had the power of throwing a person into a deep sleep.

502. Tracht air a diabhal, agus taisbeanaidh se è fèin.
[Talk about the devil, and he will shew himself.]

503. Baitear a long ann a n-aon pheacaidhe.
[A ship is sunk on account of one sinner.]

This seems to refer to the Bible history of Jonah, on whose account a tempest arose and the ship was endangered. So lately as the year 1861, I heard this proverb applied by a Donegal man, when mentioning to me that the ship had been lost in which Hunter was emigrating after

having sworn informations against the people of Gweedore, who had destroyed a number of sheep in revenge for being deprived of some land.

504. Cha deachaidh aon fhear a rìamh go h-Ifrionn gan sè phighinidh air faghail bhàis dò. [No man ever went to hell without sixpence at the time of his death.]

A relic of pagan mythology. So among the Romans it was customary to put a small coin in the mouth of the corpse, to pay Charon for ferrying it over the river Styx.

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*Allusions to ancient history and tradition.*

505. Urchar an daill fa'n dabhach. [The blind man's shot at the tub.]

A reference to an Ossianic story. One tradition is that Oisin (Ossian), who was blind, threw an apple at Saint Patrick's house-keeper, because she only gave him an ordinary man's allowance to eat, through he was a giant in size. The expression signifies a random hit, a blind man's cast.

506. Ta se comh brèugach le h-Oram. [He is as great a liar as Oram.]

A common saying in Louth and Meath. Origin unknown.

507. Ceathrar d' a d-tug Fionn fuath,
Cù truagh, agus each mall,
Tighearna tire nach m-bèidheadh glic,
A's bean fir nach m-beireadh clann.
[There were four things that Fionn (MacCumhal) hated;
A worthless hound, and a slow horse,
A chieftain without wisdom,
And a wife that does not bear children.]

508. Tri h-iongantuis Bhaile Fhòir;—muileann gan sruth, angcoire g-cloich, agus mainistear air fhàsach. [The three wonders of Bally-ore:—a mill without a stream, a hermitage, and a monastery in a wilderness.]

Ballyore is in the County Louth. The mill is driven direct from the lake without a mill-course. I do not know what the other parts of the proverb allude to.

509. Ta se comh crionna 's go d-tiobhradh se breith eadar Conall a's Eòghan. [He is so wise that he would decide between Conall and Eòghan.]

Refering to the well-known historic dispute which ended in the division of Ireland between those two sovereigns.

510. Sin deireadh le h-obair a Dreagaigh. [That is an end to Drake's work.]

Took its origin in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when some noted personage named Drake flourished in Meath, who has given name to Drakestown and Drake's-fort.—It means "there's an end of the business."

*Miscellaneous.*

511. Is leùr do'n dall a bhèul. [A blind man can see his mouth.]

512. Budh chòir an dàn a dheanadh go maith air tùs, mur is iomad fear millte a thig air. [A poem ought to be well made at first, for there is many a one to spoil it afterwards.]

513. Is iomadh sgèul a thig ann a m-bliadhain ;
'S is iomadh sliabh air bheagan bò ;
Is iomadh fear nar chìor eionn lìath ;
'S is iomadh fial air bheagan stòir.
[Many a piece of news comes in a year ;
There's many a mountain with few cattle ;
Many a man never combed a grey head ;
And many a liberal man has little means.]

514. Is fearr rith maith nà seasamh fada. [A good run is better than a long stand.]

English. *He that fights and runs away*
*May live to fight another day.*—HUDIBRAS.

Greek. Ἀνὴρ ὁ φευγων καὶ παλιν μαχήσεται. (*Qui fugiebat rursùs prœliabitur.*)

An excuse said to have been given by Demosthenes for having run away from the battle of Cheronæa and left his shield behind him.

Spanish. *Mas vale que digan aqui huyó, que aqui murio.* [Better they should say, here he ran away, than here he died.]

515. Tabhair a rogh do'n m-bodach, agus 's è a dìogadh a thoghfaidh se. [Give a clown his choice and he will choose the worst.]

516. Is doiligh roghain a bhaint as a dìogadh. [It is hard to make a choice out of the refuse.]

517. Iall fada de leathar chàich. [A long strap of other people's leather.]

518. Is bog reidh gach duine fa chraicion dhuine eile. [Every man is very obliging with other men's hides.]

Latin. *Ex alieno tergore lata secare lora.*

These proverbs seem to belong to times when the skins of animals were much used for domestic purposes.

519. Iomad na lamh a bhaineas a cath. [It is the multitude of hands that gain the battle.]

English. *Many hands make light work.*

Latin. *Multorum manibus grande levatur onus.*

520. Ni'l ò mheud a teachdaire nach mòide na gnothuighe. [The greater the messenger the more important the affair.]

521. Mol a mhònaidh a's seachain ì,
Càin an choill a's tathuigh ì,
[Praise the moor but avoid it: revile the wood but frequent it.]

522. Maith air shean n-duine, maith air àn-nduine, agus maith air leanabh, trì neithe a thèid a mògha. [A good thing done for an old man, for an ill-natured man, or for a child, are three good things thrown away.]

Because the one soon dies, the other is no man's friend, and the child forgets the obligation.

French. *Ce qu' on donne aux méchants toujours on le regrette.*

523. An ùair 'iosas a mhuc a sàith, èirigheann a biadh searbh. [When the pig has eaten her fill, her food grows bitter.

524. O chaith tu an choinneal, caith an t-orlach. [Since you have used up the candle, you may use up the inch.]

525. Creach Peadar a's dìol Pòl. [Plunder Peter and pay Paul.]

526. Na bain tuibhe de do thigh fèin le sglàtaidh a chur air thigh fir eile. [Do not take the thatch of your own house to put slates on another man's house.]

527. Ta fuasgladh gach ceisde innti fèin. [The explanation of every riddle is contained in itself.]

528. Teilg ailp a m-bèul a mhadaidh. [Throw a lump into the dog's mouth.]

Applied to a person who talks too much.

529. An fad a bhìos naosg air mòin, no cleite air a tòin, no gob uirthi. [As long as there is a snipe on a bog, or a feather on her tail, or a beak upon her.]

530. An t-olc gan mhaith a d-tòin a chòimhigh. [The bad and no good on the back of a stranger.]

i.e. lay all the blame on the stranger. Said sarcastically.

531. An nidh a deir gach uile dhuine, caithidh se bheith fìor. [The thing that everybody says must be true.]

Latin. *Vox populi, vox Dei.*

532. Cha n-è gach aon là a mharbhas Muiris bulog. [It is not every day that Maurice kills a bullock.]

533. Comh cleachdta air a's bheidheadh fear mire air chaitheadh sean-hata. [As well used to it as a madman is to wearing an old hat.]

It is often remarked that insane people have a dislike to wear any proper covering on the head.

French. *Tel cerveau tel chapeau.*

534. Is ionann 's a càs, a t-èug 's a bàs. [To die and to lose one's life are much the same.]

i.e. a distinction without a difference.

English. *Six of the one and half-a-dozen of the other.*

535. Astar bò ion-laoigh. [The period of cow with calf.]

i.e. three quarters of a year. Said of any long-winded affair.

536. Cha dearna se poll nar chuir mi-se tàirne ann. [He did not make a hole that I did not drive a nail into.]

Said when one person is arguing with another.

537. Sin a chloch a n-àit na h-uibhe. [That is the stone in place of the egg];—and

538. Sin a sòp a n-àit na sguaibe. [That is the wisp in place of the besom.]

i.e. getting anything bad in return for good.

539. Ta do chuid 's do bhuidheachas agad. [You have both your property and your thanks.]

Said when a person offers a thing to another which he does not need.

540. An uile nidh ag ìarraidh a chòir fèin, agus a gaduidhe ag ìarraidh a chrochadh. [Everything demanding its due, and the thief his hanging.]

541. Ta se mur dearnad ann a stocaidh. [It is like a flea in his stocking.]

542. Tarruing ribe as 'fhèasòig, a's fèuch fein an rachaidh leat. [Pull a hair out of his beard and see yourself if he'll go with you.]

i.e. do not trust a man altogether until you try him.

543. D'ìosadh na caoraigh an fèur thrìd. [The sheep would eat the grass through it.]

Said of anything of a very flimsy texture.

544. Fear na bò 's an 'ruball. [The owner of the cow at her tail.]

Meaning that the person most interested in an affair takes the most prominent place.

545. Nà fag fuighleach tàilleair do dhèigh. [Do not leave a tailor's remnant after you.]

That is, a small remnant indeed.

546. Geinn d' ì fèin a sgoilteas a darach. [It is a wedge made from itself that splits the oak-tree.]

Said of a man who has been the cause of his own ruin.

547. Ma bhris tu an enàmh, char dhiùghail tu an smior. [Though you have broken the bone, you have not sucked out the marrow.]

i.e., you have done the most difficult part of the work but not finished it.

548. A' mu'r robh ann acht a sagart a's a brathair, chaill mi-se mo chuid. [Although there was nobody present but the priest and the friar, still I have lost my property.]

Somebody present must have taken it.

549. O thigh an diabhail go tigh an deamhain. [From the house of the devil to the house of the demon.]—and

550. As a choire anns a teinidh. [Out of the pot into the fire.]

Latin. *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens evitare Charybdim.*

551. As na sìor-thathaigh thig na cathaighe. [From frequent opportunities come temptations.]

552. Is fearr suidhe ann 'aice nà suidhe ann 'àit. [It is better to sit beside it than in its (empty) place.]

Better take care of one's property than spend it.

English. *Better spare than spend.*

553. Dean taise le truaighe, a's gruaim le namhuid. [Have a kind look for misery, but a frown for an enemy.]

554. Nach è so saoghal fa seach, 's a t-each air mhuin a mharcaigh. [Is not this a world of vicissitudes!—the horse is on top of the rider.]

555. An nidh is anamh, is è is iongantaighe. [The thing that is scarce is the most wonderful.]

556. Focal amlàin, agus dealg labàin, agus snaithe bog ola a ghearras go enàmh, na trì neithe is gèire air bith. [The saying of a fool, a thorn in mud, and a soft woollen thread that cuts to the bone, are the three sharpest things in the world.]

557. An tè 'bhìos buaidheartha, bìann se bogadaigh,
'S an tè 'bhìos aedharach, bìann se 'mogadh air.
[The man who is troubled sits rocking himself,
While the man who is cheerful makes game of him.]

558. Biodh a sligean aig Pàdruig a's mo chràg agam fèin. [Let Patrick have the shell and me my own paw.]

559. An uair is eruaidh do'n chailligh, caithidh si rith.
[When the old hag is hard pressed she must run.]
Italian. *Il bisogno fa trottar la vecchia.*

560. Ta dhà chionn a teud a's eead a tharruing aige.
[He has got the two ends of the rope, and leave to pull.]
i.e., "he has it all his own way;" or, as the French would say, "he is master of the position."

561. Is mòr òrlach de shròin duine no de nidh comh beag leith'. [An inch of a man's nose, or of anything as small, is a good deal.]

562. Is mairg a chaillfidh ann uair onfa. [Wo to those who are lost in time of a storm.)

563. Ma ghradhann tu an t-aoileach, ni fhaic tu dùragan ann. [If you are fond of dung, you see no motes in it.]

564. Deireadh gach sean-mhallacht, sean-ghearran bàn. [The end of every old curse is an old white horse.]
Meaning that the finishing stroke of ill luck is being served with a law "process."

565. Briseadh gach uile dhuine fuinneog dò fèin, mur dubhairt an t-amadan. [Let every man break a window for himself, as the fool said.]

566. Is iomadh glèus ceòil a bhìos ann, ars' an fear a robh a trumpa maide aige. [There's many a sort of musical instrument, said the man who had the wooden trump.]

567. Ta se comh daor le h-im na Fraince. [It is as dear as French butter.]

568. Ni lia tir nà gnathas. [There are not more countries than there are customs.]

569. Ni faghthar saoi gan locht. [Not (even) a nobleman is to be found without a fault.]
Latin. *Sine vitiis nemo reperitur.*

570. Mac baintreabhaighe aig a m-bidh crodh, scarrach sean-làrach air fèur, agus madadh muilleora aig a m-bidh min, triùir is meanmnaigh air bith. [The son of a widow who has cattle, the foal of an old mare at grass, and the dog of a miller who has meal, are the three merriest creatures living.]

571. Is cruaidh an cath ò nach d-tig fear innsidh an sgèil. [It is a hard fought battle from which no man returns to tell the tale.]

572. Fèudaidh an cat amhare air an righ. [A cat may look at the king.]

573. An cheare a' dul ag iarraidh an ghèidh. [The hen going to seek for the goose.]

Said when people give small presents in expectation of receiving greater ones.

English. *Throw a sprat to catch a salmon.*

French. *Donner un œuf pour avoir un bœuf.*

574. Sin a ghrideal a' tabhairt tòn dubh air a b-pota. [That is like the griddle calling the pot "black rump".]

Spanish. *Dixo la sarten à la caldera, tirte allá cul negra.* [The frying-pan said to the kettle, stand off, black bottom.]

575. An chapall a phreabas 's è èimheas. [The mare that kicks is the one that squeals.]

i.e., he who has done the mischief is the one who makes the most noise about it.

576. An tè 'bhrathas 's è mharbhas. [He that spies is the one that kills.]

577. Maireann an chraobh air a bh-fàl, a's cha mhaireann an lamh a chuir i. [The tree in the hedge remains, but not so the hand that planted it.]

578. Loisgeann se a choinneal 's a da chionn. [He burns his candle at both ends.]

579. Is de 'n imirt mhaith a choimhead. [Watching is a part of good play.]

580. Caithtear cuinm a n-dèigh Càsg. [After Easter come feasts.]

English. *There's a good time coming.*

581. 'S è an gaduidhe is mò is fearr a ghnidh crochadair.
[It is the greatest thief that makes the best hangman.]

English. *Set a thief to catch a thief.*

582. Is olc a breitheamh air dhathaibh dall.
[A blind man is a bad judge of colours.]

583. An t-seòid is dò-fhaghala, 'sè is àille. [The jewel that is hardest to be got is the most beautiful.]

584. Ta cead cainnte aig fear caillte na h-imeartha. [The one who loses the game has the liberty of talking.]

The conqueror may allow the vanquished the satisfaction of grumbling.

585. Ciall, foighid, is fàrus, a's nà dean aimhleas. [Have sense, patience, and self-restraint, and do no mischief.]

586. Goid ò ghaduidhe, faghail a n-asgaidh. [To steal from a thief is to get for nothing.]

587. Aois crann daraich :—

Mile bliadhan a' fàs,
Mile bliadhan a stàt,
Mile bliadhan air làr,
A's mile bliadhan de bhàrr,
Bainfear clar donn daraigh as a làr.

[The age of the oak-tree after a thousand years growing; viz. a thousand years flourishing, a thousand years prostrate, and a thousand years besides, and even then a brown oak plank may be taken out of its middle.]

The wonderful durability of oak timber is well known.

588. Suan-ghoil do chathbhruith, agus cead raflaigh do'n bhrochan. [Let broth boil slowly, but let porridge make a noise.]

A housewife's proverb.

589. Chighim comh fada 's a chloch mhuilinn leis a bh-fear a bhreacas i. [I see as far into the mill-stone as the man that picks it.]

590. Fuair si fad a bhròige. [She has got the length of his shoe.]

i.e., "she knows how to manage him."

591. Cha troimid' an loch an lach,
Cha troimid' an t-each an srian;
Cha troimid' an chaora an olan,
Cha troimid' an cholann an chiall.

[The lake is nothing the heavier of the duck,
Nor is the horse the heavier of the bridle;
The sheep is not the heavier of the wool,
Nor is the body the heavier of the understanding.]

592. Gnidh sparan trom croidhe èadtrom. [A heavy purse makes a light heart.]

593. 'Sè fear na fiadhnuise is mò chidh an racan.

[It is the stander-by who sees the most of the quarrel.]

Latin. *Plus in alieno quàm in suo negotio vident homines.*

English. *Lookers-on see the most of the game.*

594. Ta se amhuil a's mala pioba, cha seinn se go m-beidh a bholg làn. [He is like a bag-pipe, he never makes a noise till his belly's full.]

French. *Jamais la corne-muse ne dit mot si elle n'a pas le ventre plein.*

595. As a g-cisteanach 'thig an fonn. [Out of the kitchen comes the tune.]

Spanish. *Quando la sarten chilla, algo hay en la villa.* [When the frying-pan makes a noise, there is something going on in the town.]

596. Is maith sgèul go d-tig sgèul eile. [One story is good till another one comes.]

597. Is fusa tuitim nà èirigh. [Falling is easier than rising.]

598. Leigeann gach duine uallach air a ngearran èasgaidh.
[Every one lays a burden on the willing horse.]

599. Gearr mo chionn a's cuir ceirin air. [Cut my head, and then put a plaster on it.]
Spanish. *Quebrástene la cabeza, y ahora me untas el casco.* [You first break my head, and then anoint my skull.]
English (Ulster). *You knock me down, and kick me for falling.*

600. Ma thrèigear a sean-fhocal, nì bhrèugn'ar è. [Though the old proverb may be given up, it is not the less true ]

## STONE SEPULCHRAL URNS.

Although baked *earthen* urns have been found in very large numbers throughout Ulster, as well as in other parts of Ireland, *stone* urns are of extreme rarity. At the great exhibition of Ulster antiquities, held in the Belfast Museum in 1852, (on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association), in which were assembled all the chief private collections of the province, only three specimens of this kind of urn appeared; while clay urns were numerously represented. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there is but a single specimen; and the notices which have been published of the discovery of any others do not exceed two or three. A very curious urn of this description, which lately came into my possession, seems deserving of record.

A year or two ago, a farmer named John Pettierew, of Carncoagh, in the parish of Skerry, (County Antrim), four miles from Ballymena, was removing some stones out of a field, previous to breaking it up with the plough, when his men came upon a large flat slab not far from the surface. On raising this, there was found underneath an oblong hollow space, about three or four feet in length, formed of rude flat stones; and in this were discovered a very perfect stone urn and a remarkable lozenge-shaped stone implement, but no bones or other remains of any kind. The urn, when found, was placed with its mouth up, contrary to the usual position in which sepulchral urns are generally discovered. The district where the field is situated is wild and hilly, and the spot where the discovery was made is on the slope of a hill. No other object of antiquity is known to have been found near the same place, with the exception of a fragment of a clay cinerary urn of the ordinary kind, which was brought to me along with the other articles.

The stone urn is accurately represented, both as to form and colour, by the accompanying chromo-lithograph: the drawing is rather less than the full size. The material of which the urn is made is

a very hard reddish sandstone, and seems to have acquired its dark colour on the surface from exposure to fire. It will be observed that in form this specimen altogether differs from the baked clay urns, of which four excellent examples are figured in this *Journal, antè* page 112. It also differs from them essentially in the depth of its cavity. While the interior of a clay urn is always of the same form and depth as the exterior (merely deducting the thickness of the material), the stone urn now described has been hollowed out only to the depth of one inch and a quarter, the height of the urn being five inches. There is another peculiarity: both the urn and the cavity are *oval*, not circular. The ornamentation is of the simplest kind, and the lines are cut only to a small depth, owing to the hardness of the material and, probably, to the imperfect tools at the command of the workman.

The circumstances under which this urn was discovered leave no doubt of its sepulchral character. Like other urns found in ancient graves, it must have contained some portion of human remains; but the small capacity of the cavity shows that this must have been very trifling, possibly a small quantity of blood, or the ashes of the heart The upright position of the vessel, when found, would seem to favor the idea that the contents had been liquid.

In the second accompanying plate [fig. 1], a coloured figure (full size) is given of the lozenge-shaped implement which was found along with the urn. It may be called a hammer, for want of a better name; but I do not see how a handle could have been fitted to it. The hollow on each side is of very trifling depth.

So far as I am aware, we have no information, either from history or tradition, to guide us in assigning any date for the use of such sepulchral urns. Urn-burial, we know, preceded the introduction of Christianity all over Western Europe; but little more than this can as yet be determined. As regards the comparative antiquity of clay and stone urns, we have no reason for assuming that either was the older. For my own part, I think it probable that they do not differ in antiquity, and that the use of stone would be resorted to only in exceptional cases, in order to form a more costly and more durable depository for the remains of distinguished persons, or in situations where suitable clay could not be procured. The whole subject, however, is enveloped in complete mystery.

The only examples, which I have met with, of stone urns resembling this in form are two; one of them exhibited by the late Edmund Getty, Esq., on the occasion referred to, the other now in the possession of George Stephenson, Esq., of Lisburn. Sketches of these are given in the second accompanying plate. [Figs. 2 and 3]. Nothing is known of the circumstances under which they were found. They are both smaller than the one described, but very similar in form and material, and they are both oval. The cavities likewise are extremely shallow: that of Mr. Stephenson's is only three-quarters of an inch deep, the total height of the urn being four inches. Both these urns have the dark colour on the surface observable in the other specimen, although the reddish sandstone of which they are made is readily perceptible here and there.

The only other stone urns found in Ireland, that I am aware of, are the following.

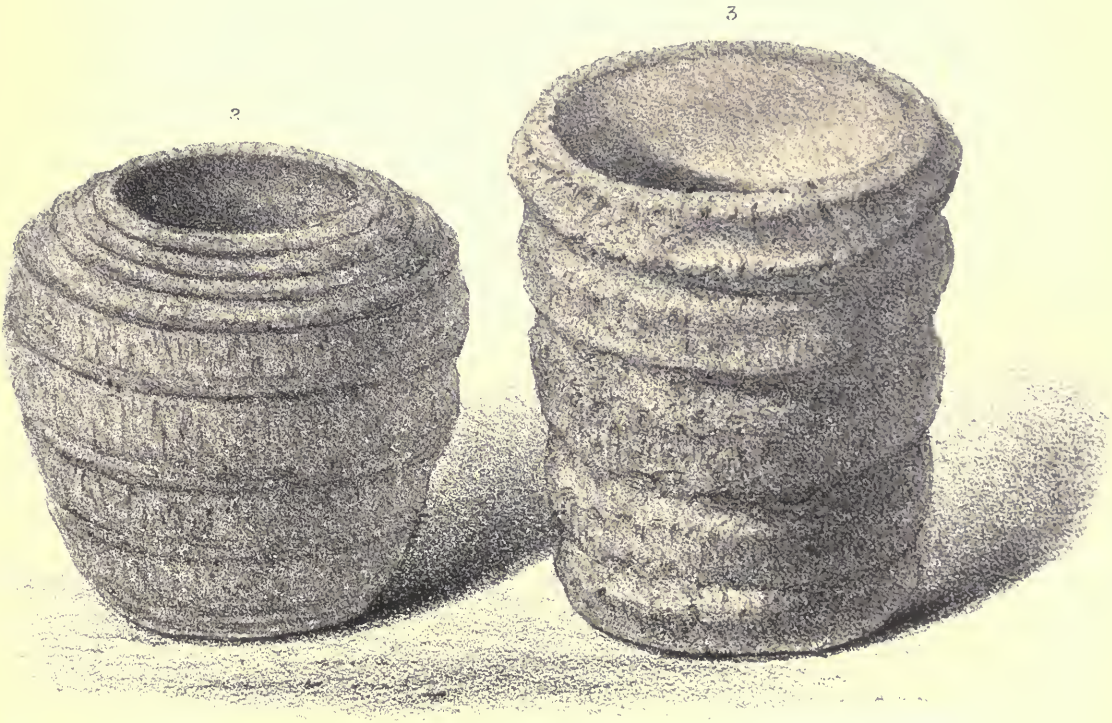
1. Sir T. Molyneux, in the Appendix to Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*, (published in 1726), gives an engraving of one which, he states, "was discovered in a mount at Knowth, a place in the County of Meath, within four miles of Drogheda. It was found inclosed in a square stone box, about five foot long and four broad, made of four rude large flag-stones set together edgeways. The urn itself was one great heavy stone of an oblong round figure, somewhat of the shape of the upper part of a man's scull, but five or six times as large. It was of a sandy grit like freestone, but much coarser and heavier: its length about sixteen inches, about twelve in breadth, and eleven in height: its cavity but shallow, not above five inches deep, in which were found loose fragments of burnt bones. They seem to have taken pains in adorning the outside with rude lines and carving" [p. 200].

2. Another stone urn of a bowl-like form, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is figured in Mr. Wilde's catalogue of that Museum, page 134. It is eight and three-quarter inches high, about ten and a-half broad, one inch thick, and about five and a-half deep, and ornamented outside with two bands of zig-zag lines. Locality where found unknown.

3. A stone urn, of similar shape to the last, was found in levelling an old rath near Trummery, in the County Antrim), and is now in the possession of George Stephenson, Esq., Lisburn. Its dimensions are as follows:—height four and three-quarter inches, external diameter seven inches, depth of cavity three and one-eighth inches, diameter of cavity six inches. The only attempt at ornament is a series of bands, produced by furrows sunk in the stone at irregular distances. The material is hard sandstone, having the surface of the usual dark colour.

4. A remarkable instance of the discovery of another stone urn in the County of Antrim, is thus mentioned in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, for 24th of May, 1852 [vol. v. p. 229]. "Mr. J. Huband Smith, exhibited a stone urn with a glass urn [ring], found in a tumulus at Dunadry, County of Antrim. On the surface of the tumulus there was a rich, black, loamy soil; and the farmer on whose land it was, having resolved to spread this over the adjoining ground, proceeded to remove it for that purpose. In doing so, he came to the cairn, in which he discovered, at a depth of three feet from the surface, on the eastern side, and lying horizontally, a human skeleton, having on its hand a ring of lignite, and at the feet the stone urn and a little glass ring. The urn was distinguished from those found hitherto, by having handles at the sides and a brass cover on the top. The mound, which was exceedingly large, is now entirely effaced."

ROBERT MacADAM.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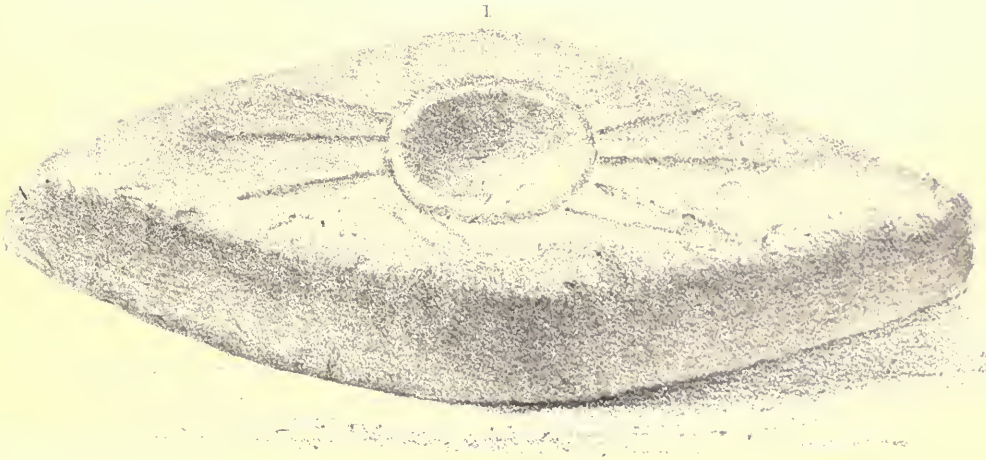
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# ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

WORN-DOWN TEETH IN ANCIENT SKULLS [Notes and Queries, vol. ix., p. 147].—"That the gradual abrasion of the teeth may be materially influenced by the nature of the food, is proved by the fact that the teeth of sailors who, during the greater part of their lives, are accustomed to live upon hard biscuits, are often found to be so much worn down by the constant friction produced by this diet, that a very small part only of the crowns of the teeth remains above the edge of the gum; yet no exposure of the cavities takes place, as they gradually become filled up by new bone, and still afford a solid and continuous surface for mastication." [Bell, *on the Teeth*, p. 13].

The foregoing extract from Bell accounts sufficiently for the worn-down condition observable in the teeth of the very early inhabitants of these countries. Prior to the general introduction of metallic culinary utensils, the cooking and preparing of food must have been very rude and far from cleanly operations. Grain coarsely pounded between stones, or imperfectly ground by the *quern*, could have only been made into hard cakes with water or milk, and then baked upon live embers or heated stones. In all these operations it could scarcely have failed to become more or less contaminated with gritty particles of sand or soil, and must, in any case, have furnished a solid mass of ill-comminuted particles, requiring a considerable amount of mastication to render it digestible. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the diet of these early inhabitants must have been one exclusively of grain, as some have supposed; for Sir John Richardson, at the meeting of the British Association in Dublin, in 1857, stated that he had observed among the Esquimaux, and other exclusively flesh-eating people, precisely the same condition of the teeth, attributable, as he believed, to their being uncleanly feeders, and allowing sand and other gritty matters to get mixed with their food. In the number of querns brought to light from time to time in this country, and in the quantity of bones of domesticated animals discovered at Dunshaughlin, Scraba, and similar places, we have abundant evidence that the ancient Irish lived upon a mixed diet of grain and flesh. When, therefore, in connexion with this fact, we find their teeth thus remarkably worn down, and especially when the same peculiar form of degradation is observable in the very young, as is the case with the teeth of a child not exceeding seven years of age discovered in the tumulus at Mount Wilson, [see *Ulster Journal*, vol. i, p. 278,] we may reasonably infer that such remains are of great antiquity, and are referable to a people existing in an exceedingly rude and primitive condition of society.

JOHN GRATTAN.

The following curious particulars relating to Lurgan, in the County of Armagh, are perhaps deserving of being recorded.

Extract from the Vestry Minute Book of the parish of Shankhill Lurgan, County of Armagh.

"At a Vestry held at the Parish Church of Shankhill, on the 18th of January, 1675.

"Agreed on by the Curate and Churchwardens of y^e^ said Parish, at a meeting of y^e^ said Parishoners this present day, in regard we conceate a Bell more devout and fitt for calling together y^e^ Parishoners to Divine Service than a Drum which hath been hitherto used, that the sum of Eight Pounds be equally and indifferently applotted on y^e^ inhabitants of this parish, and to be levied by distress or otherwise by y^e^ Churchwardens of this Parish, and that y^e^ same be paid to the hands of Arthur Brownlowe, who is desired to lay out y^e^ same for a Bell of about one hundred pounds weight; which Bell, we likewise agree, shall be set up in the Market house of Lurgan, till a convenient Steeple shall be erected for containing y^e^ s^d^ Bell, y^e^ s^d^ M^r^. Brownlowe having consented thereto, provided ye s^d^ Bell may be also rung for the market and town use.

"We likewise agree that y^e^ salary heretofore paid by y^e^ Parish for beating y^e^ s^d^ Drum, shall hereafter continue and be paid to some fitt person to be appointed for ringing y^e^ said Bell, to begin from Easter next, if y^e^ said Bell shall be got up by the 1st May next.—

A. C. Brownlowe. Jo. Wetherby, Curate."

[Memorandum at foot, in Mr. Wetherby's handwriting.] "The bell is bought by Mr. Brownlowe, but no money yet raised on s^d^ Parish or paid to him for it."—

Copied from a tombstone in Shankhill Graveyard, Lurgan, County Armagh.

"The Reverend Arthur Forde, late Rector of this Parish, died the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and is interred here (on the north side of the Churchyard) agreeably to the special appointment of his will, in order, as he himself expresseth it, to remove the superstitious imagination which prevails among many that such part is profane and unholy."

The north side of the grave-yard is now as full of graves as any other part. J. H.

Mr. George Hill will, I am sure, permit me to make the following notes on some passages in his interesting articles on Shane O'Neill [vol. ix.] At page 127 a tradition is cited, that Shane stabbed a servant at the steps of his castle of Edenduffcarrick, because the man had bought biscuit at the shop of an English baker in the town of Antrim.. Surely this tradition relates to Shane of Clanaboy, who built "Shane's Castle"? It may also be questioned whether there was an English baker, or even a town, at Antrim at the time referred to. Campion says, that Shane of *Tyrone* hanged one of his men for eating English biscuit.—My second note is on Mr. Hill's supposition that Sir Henry Sydney believed he had slain the James M^c^Donnell who died in 1565. But Sir Henry refers to an earlier date, and evidently to another chieftain of the same name.—My third note is, that, at page 131, *Fedan* is explained to be "the *Feveagh*, County Armagh". Is this the modern name of the *Fiodh-dun*, the fort in the Fewes, above Newry? H. F. Hore.

Round Towers.—In anything I have read on the Round Tower controversy, I do not remember to have seen any notice of a curious

church which attracted my attention, some years ago, at the south side of the road about half way between Frankfort-on-the-Maine and Darmstadt. It had a tall tower rising from the gable of one end, just in the same manner as the round tower on the church at Glendalough called St. Kevin's Kitchen, and of precisely the same shape. Of course this cannot be of anything approaching to the age of our Irish towers; but it might be worth while enquiring whence came the similarity of design? We know that Irish ecclesiastics frequented Germany at an early period. Possibly some of your travelled readers may know something of the history of this church.

T. H. P.

The Hills and Magees.—The tradition mentioned in p. 68 of the *Journal* respecting a rather singular compact, entered into by these two families for mutual protection in 1641, is no doubt founded on fact. M'Skimmin, the historian of Carrickfergus, is a first-rate authority on all local matters connected with the events of that memorable year. He has recorded the oral history of Island Magee on the subject of the massacre of a number of Roman Catholics, perpetrated in that place on the afternoon of Sunday, 8th of January, 1641-2.[a] One tradition thus preserved by M'Skimmin, at p. 45 of his history [third edition], affirms that whilst the massacre was proceeding, several Roman Catholics were concealed in a corn-kiln by a Dissenter named *Hill*, and thus preserved from the dreadful fate that befel their neighbours.

In 1650, the Government instituted an enquiry into the circumstances of the massacre in Island Magee. On that occasion, Bryan Magee, son of Owen, deposed that the murderers returned to Carrickfergus after the massacre, carrying with them certain prisoners; and that as *Colonel Hill did not happen to be in the Garrison at the time*, three of the prisoners were taken to the gate and murdered by Scotchmen. [M'Skimmin, p. 49].

These statements would imply that the Hills felt themselves under some obligation to preserve the Magees, and that they really endeavoured to do so. At the date of the massacre, the inhabitants of Island Magee were, with few exceptions, Magees, or connexions of Magees. L. F.

The Name of Mac Quillin.—The writer of the article on the "Clan of the Mac Quillins of Antrim" [vol. viii., p. 251] observes the remarks of Ollamh Fodhla [vol. ix., p. 146] on the origin of the name in question. While it may be said, in one sense, to matter little how this name originated, yet as a debated historical question it is interesting to come at the truth if we can. The writer, therefore, wishes to give her reasons for holding that it is not derived from the Welsh name *Llewelyn*.

In the first place, the family to which the name belongs, repudiate the idea of a Welsh derivation. They claim to be the lineal descendants of the kings of Uladh, who were ultimately dispossessed of the southern part of their territory by John de Courcy.

In the next place, enough is found in Irish history to give a strong assurance that the name is truly Irish, and that in its present form it is

[a] Until about the year 1752, the NEW YEAR did not commence till about the 1st of March. According to the *New Style* this massacre occurred in 1642.

probably derived from the son of Connor Mac Dunsleve, who was king of Uladh when John de Courcy attacked Ulidia. The name of this prince was *Cu-Ulladh* or *Cu-Ullain*. In Connellan's translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year 1178, is the following record respecting him:—"Murrogh O'Carroll, lord of Orgiall, and *Cu-Ulladh* son of Dunsleve king of Uladh, attacked De Courcy's forces, of whom they slew four hundred and fifty." A note on the next page says:—"This *Cu-Ulladh* was a celebrated chief, son of Connor Mac Dunsleve king of Ulidia. O'Connor states that he was called Cu-Uladh, signifying "the hound of Uladh," from his great swiftness of foot and bravery in battle. The defeat of De Courcy was owing to the valour of Cu-Uladh."

At p. 41 of the same volume, under the head "Irish Proper Names," we have the following:—"We find several names of chiefs commencing with *Cu*, which signifies 'a hound,' and figuratively 'a swift-footed warrior'; as, for instance, Cuchullain, a famous warrior of the Red Branch Knights of Ulster. The name signifies 'the warrior of Ulster,' as *Ulladh* (Ulster) is sometimes inflected *Ullain*."—Now adopting this inflection of Ulladh, we have *Cu-Ullain* as the name, in the twelfth century, of one of the forefathers of the MacQuillins. The "son" of Cu-Ullain would be "Mac Cu-Ullain," or in English orthography, in which Q represents CU, it would be Mac Quillain.

However it must be observed, that although the above origin of the name in its present form seems highly probable, Edward Mac Quillin, the writer of the family manuscript, takes his more ancient progenitor, Fiacha Uillin, as the individual from whose cognomen it was derived. Fiacha was the only child of Queen Inne, second wife of Niall of the Nine Hostages.[a] She was, according to the Abbé Mac Geoghegan, an Ulster princess, the sixth in descent from Fergus Davededagh, king of Ulster, who was grandson of the monarch Conn of the Hundred Battles. The descendants of Davededagh (with two exceptions from the race of Ir) appear to have kept possession of the principality until it was seized and subdivided by the English. Fiacha settled first in Meath, and owned an extensive territory there, part of which was long occupied by the Mac Geoghegans of the clan Fiacha. This territory extended as far south as the present Queen's County, where we find the impress of his name in the parish anciently called Ballyquilline, in the Barony of Stradbally. This maternal descendant from the more ancient Ulster kings, aided probably by his warlike father's influence, early in the fifth century became prince of Dalaradia, which comprised the present counties of Down and Antrim. His posterity were deprived of the southern portion by John de Courcy, and ultimately lost the northern also during the sixteenth century, through Scottish intrigue. They preserved the account of their genealogy unbroken through that long period, and the family of the Mac Quillins retained possession of MSS. which at-

[a] In Mac Geoghegan's Irish history it is stated that Inne was Niall's first Queen, and Fiacha his eldest son. According to the Mac Quillin MS, she was his last queen, and Fiacha his youngest and favourite son and hence was called *Uillin*, signifying pet or darling. Had he been the eldest, he would have had precedence of Laeghaire as monarch of Ireland; but instead of that, even in the northern principalities his brother Owen took precedence.

tested it, until the year 1766, when they were seized by the Jesuits in France, as already mentioned.

The record of Duald MacFirbis, quoted by Mr. Hill [*antè* p. 58], might perhaps throw further light upon the question, if the paragraph introducing the name Mac Quillin were given in full. It is quite probable that there were other Quillins, descendants of Fiacha, besides the ancestors of the present Mac Quillins, and who assumed the surname of *Uilline* as an affix to their other name. They, or other collateral branches of the Uilline, may have gone over to Wales at some remote period, and may even have there originated the name *Llewelyn* among the Welsh princes; while their descendants, a long time afterwards, as MacFirbis says, may have "*returned to Erin as Britons*". But that any of those returning emigrants, or any other Welshmen, were the forefathers of the Dunluce Mac Quillins, is a statement to which that family long ago gave an emphatic denial. M. Webb.

## QUERIES.

What is the origin of *Pomeroy*, the name of a small town in Tyrone? There is a place of the same name in Devonshire. Arthur.

We have had a great deal written by Irish antiquarians on the probable source of the large quantities of gold used in ancient Irish ornaments, &c.; but I am not aware that any one has taken up the subject of Irish silver. I know that gold antiquities are more abundantly met with in Ireland than silver ones, but in the old poems and histories there is frequent mention of silver. But whence was it obtained? No portion of it is likely to have been of home production; for silver is not found in the native state in the beds of mines, or elsewhere, like gold, but always combined with some other substance, and in that state not possessing either the colour, brilliancy, or any other of the distinguishing characteristics of a metal. No doubt it is to be found in our lead-mines in Ireland, as it is in Spain and elsewhere, but only as a small per-centage of the lead-ore; and in order to separate it, a troublesome process is necessary. It is not by any means probable that our early ancestors were acquainted with such a process; and therefore they must have procured all their silver from some other country. I wish some of the ingenious contributors to your *Journal* would turn their attention to the subject, and inform us, if possible, whence the ancient Irish obtained this metal. Flann.

# THE EARL OF ESSEX'S ENTERPRISE FOR THE RECOVERY OF ULSTER.

The history of an entire country can never be well written, without a searching analysis of the component parts. Whenever a full and philosophic history of Ireland shall be compiled, the annals and fortunes of Ulster will enter largely into the general scheme; and a remarkable episode, the Earl of Essex's gallant enterprise for the recovery of this province for the English, will assuredly attract the historian's attention. The larger the materials at hand, the more perfect will be the summary given of this undertaking:—we therefore publish the following extracts from State Paper documents relating to this notable incident, in the assurance that, although the enterprise occurred in a corner, as it were, of Ireland, and was unsuccessful, its details and circumstances serve to explain some of the darkest passages in the history of the realm. A brief account of Lord Essex's enterprise is given in the Hon. Captain Devereux's Lives of the Earls of that name. The private origin of this undertaking lay in a bequest, by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, to his niece, of land to the value of 800 marks yearly, which land having fallen into the possession of the crown, Lord Essex, as heir of the bequest, obtained a grant of half the country of the Clan of Yellow Hugh O'Neill, otherwise Claudeboy, "provided he could remove all rebellious occupiers of the country thence." This was in 1573. The "king," or principal chieftain of Clandeboy, was Sir Brian mac Phelim O'Neill, whose ancestors had, as he declared, held the country during no less than fourteen generations. A short and sharp war ensued, and was eventually decided in favour of the natives, who banded strongly together; the O'Neills of the East being aided by those of the West, besides commanding the assistance of other clans, and of the Hebridean Scots, who had recently settled in the Route and Glynns of Antrim. On the other hand, the enterprising Earl had many difficulties to contend with, besides the determined resistance of the natives, in either the covert or open opposition of certain powerful officials in London and Dublin. In short, were a lively history of his enterprise written, by aid of existing documents, it would be found to make a highly instructive and interesting episode in the history of Ireland.

The Earl of Essex himself wrote a summary of his doings in Ulster, a document which was among Secretary Walsingham's papers, and is now bound up in the Cottonian MS. *Titus*, *B.* xii. This record is a description of the state in which the Earl found the province, and of its condition when he left it. On his coming, he found the town of Carrickfergus in ashes, and the king of Clandeboy commanding the surrounding country, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse and twelve hundred foot. Before his departure, most of these insurgents had perished by the sword or by famine; and the residue, having abandoned the open country, had crept into the adjacent woods.

Carrickfergus, then the only walled town in Ulster, a seaport, and the only town of any

size and importance, was occupied by a community of Anglo-Irish, who did such service to the Crown of England as they were capable of, in resisting that encroachment of the Irish over the Earldom of Ulster, which Lord Essex endeavoured to repel. A paper in *Add. MS. Brit. Mus.* 4763, sets forth "the services of the people of Carrickfergus." Of the condition of the country immediately round the town, we obtain some idea from the following extract. "A Plott for the better inhabiting of Clandeboy, &c.," has this "item":— [*Titus, B.* xii., *b.* 438.]

"That there be a perambulation made of the ancient lands that belonged to the Town of Carrickfergus, and a portion thereof limited to the Constable of the castle, and the rest to the townesmen. And if they can be induced to separate the same into inclosures, by ditches or dry walls, or rather quicksettes, the rest of the Town would be of more strength, and the cattle belonging thereto would feed in more surety."

Lord Essex's second letter to Lord Burghley, after his arrival at Carrickfergus, is dated from that town on the 10th September, 1573. From it we learn that Sir Brian O'Neill, king of Clandeboy, made professions of loyalty, as a ruse to gain time, until he should be better informed of the amount of the force which the Earl might reckon on. Captain William Piers, who had for some time been governor of the town, induced the Irish knight-king to make these professions: but the governor's subsequent conduct caused suspicion that he also was adverse to Essex's enterprise. Connected in some way by marriage with the Irish chieftain, the English commandant was loth to see the native lord lose his land, and he himself feared to lose certain emoluments attached to his post, such as the cheap farming of some surrounding pastures. And the Irish chiefs in general were furious at a private person like Lord Essex adventuring to conquer their country, as if they were no better than the wretched Indians whom Cortez and Pizarro invaded.

Sergeant-Major Thomas Wilsford writes, 1st December, 1573, from Knockfergus, to Lord Burghley:—

"First, I find this nation moche more inraged with the furie of desperation then ever I have done heretofore; and that, I gather, doth come for that they suppose that this warre is taken in hand by Her Majesty's subjects, and not by herself, which is proved, for that they all are desirous to write or send their messengers to Her Majesty, for they are in dispaire to farm any part of the lands: Secondly, they affirme they are no rebelles, for that they saie it is not the Quene's warre, and that they do but defend their own lands and goods: Thirdly, I find such imperfections in our contrimen, that through longe peace had in England they have lost the minds of soldiers, and are become weke in body to endure the travaile, and miserable in mind to susteine the force of the enemie; and this, no question, doth grow of the fatte, delicat soil, and long peace had in England; and therefore nothing more necessarie for a Prince that mindeth to keep his countries and dominions, then some exercise of warres. This nation begin to know their owne force and strength, and have learned the use and sorts of weapons, and their places of strength and advantage, and therefore high time

to repulse this rebellious nation, for fear of utter ruin of the whole; and yet I think this north part is the quietest place of Ireland. My Lord, it is not a subject's purse and countenance must do this: it must be Her Majesty only."

The writer praises the Earl's "noble and honourable intent" in the enterprise, with which "he will go through, if it cost him his earldom." In the Earl's instructions for Mr. John Norreys and Mr. Edward Waterhouse, on their going over to court, 2nd December, 1573, it is stated that "all the freeholders and inhabitants of the Ardes be gonne out and joined in rebellion with Nele MacBryan Fertoughe, especiallie Ferdouroughe MacSeneshall and the rest, saving Savaige, chief of that name, Denys Smythe, and James MacJeniacke Savaige; which Denys Smythe and James Savaige, under colour of keeping in, doe more hurt by sending of victualls and intelligence unto the rebells than the rebells themselves can do."

The chieftain who wisely staid at home, seems to have been "Raoulyn," or Roland, Baron Savage, lord of Lecale and the Ardes, two countries which, being very fertile, were often attempted to be wrested from him. "MacSeneshal" was the Irish appellative of his family, because his forefathers had been hereditary seneschals of the earldom of Ulster. Ferdoragh was afterwards drawn over, and received the command of a company. Denys Smythe was, probably, of the old stock of this name. On the 2nd December, 1573, the Earl of Essex writes thus to Lord Burghley:—

"My verie good Lord,

"I doo greatelie rejoice that the revolte of theis rebells doth not make your Lordship to fall into any misliking of this enterprise; for my part I assure your Lordship I like it a great deal the better, and I doubt not but with God's favour in short tyme to overthrowe all theis rebells, yf so be Her Majesty will throughlie countenance this war, or otherwise it will cause divers which would submit themselves unto her, to confederate with the rebelles againste me. There is a gentleman come unto me by sea from O'Donell, who bringeth me word from his master, that both he and all the Lords of the Irishe will not be persuaded that this war is Her Majesty's, but take it to be such an attempt as Mr. Smithe undertook, and allege that if it were the Quene's, it should be undertaken by her Governor, whom they term the Justice, and they say that if the war were the Quene's they would thereunto yield what assistance they could, which they will never do to myself, or to any other Englishman, against their own nation. This opinion, my Lord, is of necessitie to be gotten out of their heads, and I see no other way more readie for the doing thereof than this, that I surrender my grant, which I have of the moiety of this countrey, and become an adventurer, for so many as I now have, or as it shall please Her Majestie to like of, the government which I have to cease, and the war to be followed by the governor of the realm, whom I will be contented to obey and follow, and with my own band to serve him as a private man. I desire of your Lordship that this alteration may be made with speed, and so shall both the Irish be satisfied and the soldiers here be kept from mutiny, who do alledge that they came hither, not of any duty, but of good will, onlie borne to myself, and therefore

are bound no longer to tarrie than they themselves list. Another cause also maketh me to move this, for that I fear me there will not be any governor of this realm, which, while I have this authoritie in Ulster, will be a friend to this enterprise; and whosoever shall be governor, if he shall not throughlie countenance it, he may in one month, with his onelie countenance, overthrow all that in a whole year I shall have achieved."

On the 8th December, the following testimony was obtained against Piers, the incarcerated commandant. The witnesses were two of the Earl's officers, namely, William Morgan, provost-marshal, and George Carleton, treasurer, both of whom expected large grants in the new settlement. The prisoner had sent his son, William, to these officers, to ask for an interview, and they relate what he proposed, as his "plot to ease all Essex's griefs." He spoke of the great want the Earl is in, and said he foresaw the likelihood that the service would not last long at the Queen's charge, whereof she would soon be weary. "The way to proceed would be to disperse Sir Bryan's companies in members, so that the Earl could at any time easily distress them;" meaning that the several septs under the one chieftain should be settled on certain estates far apart from each other, so that not only they could not readily combine, but could be easily beaten in detail. This advice was good. For carrying it out, Piers asked to be made seneschal over the country of Clandeboy, and recommended that "much be made of the Magines within this town, who are foster-brothers to Sir Bryan." Further he advised that the Earl should pretend to have a dislike to Captain Malbie, and then send him away, probably because the Irish were particularly apprehensive of this uncompromising soldier. Who the "Magines" were is a question: but the strong tie of fosterage, which made foster-brothers the firmest supporters of a chieftain is curiously illustrated.

The last paragraph in the above despatch from Lord Essex refers to the ill-will borne by the Viceroy, Sir William Fitz William, to the expedition. The dislike was natural, for the governor-general could hardly approve of a nobleman of rank and reputation being sent with an independent command into Ireland. But nothing could be more honourable than the course proposed by the Earl, who, seeing the difficulty, offered to serve under the Deputy.

As for the native princes, they were outraged at the irregular proceeding of being made war on by any other than the Queen's Vice-gerent.

Among the Irish chieftains who regarded the enterprise for the recovery of English dominion in the north with more or less apprehension, was one of intermediate polities, Sir Hugh Magennis, lord of Iveagh, an exceptional man, since the assurance his conduct gave of his willingness to adopt English laws and habits had gained him the confidence of the government. His predecessor, Sir Donnell, had been recommended to be created a baron, and he himself hoped to attain this dignity, and with it a patent of lands in fee to himself and his heirs. Yet the repeated attempts to expel the lords Savage, his neighbours and kinsmen, from the Ards, the O'Neills from Clanaboy, and

the O'Hanlons from Orior, made him tremble for his insecure position as seigneur of the Magennises' country. Thus disquieted, he addressed the following letter to the Earl of Essex:—

"My most humble duty unto yo^r. honor premysed. This most humbly to let your honor understand that Brean McPhelym and O'Hanlon and all those that were my neighbours in tymes past dose wrythe and send unto me dayly, saynge that my landes wear geven away as ther landes, the w^ch. I gave them no credens nor wyll not, for I do suppose and judge that they wold have me to be an utlawe, as they are, the w^ch I wyll not graunt unto hit whylst lyf doth lest, tho I had but my boy and my horse, for her Majesty wyll I serve all the days of my life. Wherefor most humbly besechyng your honor to wrythe ernestly unto her majesty, that I moyght have my landes unto me and unto my eyres male at her Majesty's handes, that I moyght be bold and wyllyng to serve her Majesty faythfully and dilygently. For your honor doth know that hit is heard for me to do the forsayd rebels harm, for that I am not sure of my landes, and I do not know what tyme I should be dryven to the lyke myself, unlest that I may be assured of my contrey. And being assured of hit by your lordship in wrythinge under your hand, with promys to get hit me of the Queene, wyll do your honor such serves that all the Irys men in the north shal not do the lyke, letting me have thre hondrith footmen and a hondrithe horsemen to ly at the Nywery to go with me whensoever I do call upon them, with a sertayn of myne owne horsemen and kern in wages, and in gevinge me thus ther shall not be one dwellyng betwyxt me and Castell Thoym, nor Dondagon, that shall do your Lordship any hurt; the which, if it would please your honor to question with Capten Malby, he knowes that I am able to do hit, and that your honor wyll trust my serves the better, I wyll put my son unto your honor if it wold please your honor to take hym. And for those men that I do request in wages, your honor may confer with the berer thereof Mr. Danyel, and to send me your honor is mind in all things by hym, for he is my trusty frend, and what your honor wyll have me to do, let this berer end hit with your honor. Thus most humbly besechyng your honor of your accustomed goodness and mercy to further me in my forsayd sutes as my most trust is in your gracyus honor. And I shall pray and serve for your honor during lyfe, according my bunden duty, and so I moste humbly take my leave with your honor, from Rathefrellan, the xii of December, 1573."

Your Honour's most obedyent and lovinge subject,

H. Magneisse.

Postcript. "Whearcas your honor wrothe unto me by Mr. More for a cesse of beefes, your honor shal understand that my lord deputie hath sent unto me for a cesse unto hym; and not only dyd his honor send for it but allso dyd rere hit from me, the which I had rather to bear your honor is cesse than any man else in this land, but your honor doth knowe that I am not able to beare ii cessys, and if I wear, your honor is cesse wold I gladly bere much soner than any els."

The good Irish knight was not dispossessed, but lived in honor at Rathfriland; is mentioned

by Marshal Bagenal, in 1585, [see *Ulster Journal*, vol. ii. 47,] as "very civil and English like;" and was then member of parliament for the county.

Articles, dated 22nd January, 1574, were entered into between the Earl, as Lord Governor General of Her Majesty's Province of Ulster, and the "Gentlemen Adventurers for the taking of Land, nomynating their several seats, and for the better settling of the countrey, the suppression and expulsion of the rebelles, and bringing them to Her Majestie's obedience." By this instrument, it was agreed "that the inhabiting upon the Rynge or Cyrcuyte of the Contrey by the Sea Coste, the Bann syde, the Logh syde, and so from thence by the edge of Kilultogh dowenwerd to the Lagan, was meetest to be first done. The reason is, that the inhabitants upon the borders will not only keep out any foreign enemy, and those of Tyrone, but also bringing theis of the country into a narrow straight shall, in the space of two years, overthrow them or force them to come to obedience." Among the adventurers was Mr. Barnabe Goch (Gough), a kinsman of Lord Burghley's, and who, in a letter to his Lordship, dated 2nd February, gives a sorry account of the progress of the enterprise. For himself, sea-sickness on the voyage over, and the barbarous medical treatment he received on landing, had given him "the country disease," dysentery. The ministry, or clergy, that came over to Ireland, had, at the first touch of illness and hard diet, run home. Of the town of Knockfergus he observes, "it is filthy, and fit to breed syckness, as it is already well visited; but with a littell charge might have been made a handsome thing." The writer says, "I was a fortnight among the Scots of the Glens, buying wheat."

Proposition being made to reduce the number of soldiers in the pay of the Crown, employed in this expedition, the Earl writes to Lord Burghley thus, on the 9th February, 1573-4:—"In my opinion it is a wrong way to reform Ireland to diminish the forces, and I think it not the way to save the Queen's charges, for I see noe cause why every countrey in Ireland should not mayntein the Queen a nombre of soldiors. Theise Irish Lords, which make their countreys to mayntein twentye thousand soldiors, (I speak of the least,) to warre against the Queen when they list, sholde be made to pay English soldiors to serve Her Majestie, and their idle kernes hold to their work, or to the gallows."

The following document contains some curious particulars.

1574. No. 82. Dec.? "Claneboy the Rowte and the Glynnes.

"A Noate of the severall Seates for placyng of the Gentlemen Adventurers for their prncypall dwellyngs. As also reserved for her Majestie and the Earle; beginning at Glanarm, and so compassing the Ring or Circuit, by the Sea coste, the Banne syde, the Loghe side, &c., and so downward by the edge of Kilultogh to Bellfarst, and from thence to Carigfergus, and so by Oulderfleet to Glanarm againe aforesaid, with the distaunce of myles from place to place.

Glanarm, William Morgan, of Penycoyde; distant from the Redd Bay eight miles.

The Redde Bay, the Lord Rich, distant from Burnay Dall eight miles.
Burnay Dall, Henry Knolles; distant six miles from
Market Town Bay, upon the countreys of Mombray and Cary. William and John Norryce in Mombrey; Michaell and John Cary in Cary, distant three miles from
Whitehead, whereupon standeth a castell, not appointed, distant sixe miles from
Dunsarike, Mr. Champernoune, distant four miles from
Dunluse, Mr. Francis Kelleway, distant four miles from
Portrush, two of Mr. Treasurer's sonnes, distant four miles from
Colrane, reserved for the Queen, distant two miles from
James MacHenrie's Cronock, called Ynyshe Lockan, reserved to keep that ford in the Banne, and not appointed; distant eight miles from
Ballybony, Ralph Bourchier, two miles from the Banne, and without the Circuit; five miles from Castell Toome, and two from
Bryan Caroghe's Cronock uppon the Bann, reserved for footmen, to keep that ford of the Bann, distant five miles from
Castell Toome, George Carleton, distant six miles from
Masseryn, reserved for the Quene, distant ten miles from
Belfaste, reserved for the Queen, distant four miles from
The Bottom benethe the Cave, having two little pyles, Mr. Barkley and Mr. Brunker, distant four miles from
Carigfergus, for the Quene, distant four miles from
The mouth of MacGuye's Hande, and the yland, for the Quene, distant four miles from
Ouldertleete, for the Quene, distant seven miles from Glanarm, as aforesaid."

The "cronocks" above mentioned were the curious wattle houses, *(crannoj)* constructed on wooden piles, forming, as artificial islands, the peculiar strongholds of the northern natives, and being directly opposite, in their inaccessible character, to what Lord Essex intended to build, namely a trading town, on a then almost uninhabited site near the ford called Belfast. The Earl had soon perceived the importance of the position of this ford, which had been commanded, in earlier times, by a castle erected by Lord Mandeville, but which had fallen into the hands of the O'Neills of Clanaboy, and the possession of which had been confirmed by government to more than one of their chieftains. Sir Brian MacPhelim, its occupant at this time, seems to have received such a grant, for this remark occurs in another MS. of the same date, [No. 80], entitled "the Circuit of Clandiboie:"—"Note, that it is not requisite Sir B. MacP. have Belfast, but that the Queene doe build it." This is to say, that Her Majesty should construct the castle which it was proposed to re-erect there, and that the present possessor should be expelled. The Irish prince indeed, was but as an owl in the ruins of Lord Mandeville's tower at Belfast, coming out at night and

living like a bird of prey. Some names of lands near Belfast still preserve ideas of the age when this rude chieftain resided in the old fortress: thus, there is *Skiogoneill*, or O'Neill's thorn, under which he may have held his court; and *Ligoneill*, where his hounds were loosed for the chase.

On the execution of Sir Brian, the chieftaincy of the clan was assumed by a son of another Brian, called Erto, or properly, *Faghartach*.

Articles between the Earl of Essex, and Neil, son of Brian Erto O'Neill, chief captain of Clanaboy, 7th July, 1575.

"Articuli de quibus concordatum est, inter prenobilem Comitem de Essex et de Ewe, &c. et Neilanum O'Neile, filium Barnardi Erto, quoad submissionem ab illo factam officiumque suum erga excellentissimam regiam maiestatem prestandum, ut sequitur.

1. In primis, dictus Neilanus agnoscit excellentissimam regiam majestatem Elizabetham, Dei gratiâ Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Reginam, fidei defensatricem, &c. naturalem suam principem supremamque dominam suam esse, atque, utpar est subditum officiosum facere, sue celsitudini sese totum submittet et devovet.

2. Item, pollicetur quod non hospitabit aliquem proditorem aut rebellem in patria sua, verum si qui stalis venerit in patriam suam, cum primùm fuerit inde monitus à Gubernatore aut Commissionariis ab ipso assignandis, operam dabit illos apprehendere, et ad gubernatorem aut commissionarios mittere.

3. Item, quod non patietur furta aliqua fieri per aliquem ex inhabitantibus patriæ suæ, nec ex alia patria illuc adduci, quin ille aut furem et predatorem tradet gubernatori vel commissionariis, aut furta vel predas sic factas quadruplo compensabit."

By the 8th article, O'Neill gives, as hostages, the son of Gillduff Gilmere, the son of Maurice Gilmere, and the son of Owen Gilmere.[a]

In consideration of the above articles, the Earl, as Captain-General, constituted the said Neil to be principal captain, or chieftain, within this country, including all the land between the river Lagan to the confines of Coillultach, and from the borders of MacArtan's country to the confines of Coillwarlyn and the borders of the Ardes, for which O'Neill was to render, as rent sec, yearly, one hundred cows.

The last document to be laid at present before our readers is the muster-roll of a "hosting" which was intended to be directed against Turlough Lenough O'Neill, chieftain of Tyrone, 8th March, 1574.

"The Plot for this entended jorney, and agreed upon by the Lord Deputy and Counsail."

[a] These "Gilmeres" were the MacGilmores of Holywood, and descendants, as it would seem, of the O'Mornas, celebrated in Ossianic history.

| | HORSEMEN. |
|---|---|
| The Viscounte of Gormanston, the Baron of Delvin, and the Plunketts, | cxx. |
| The Baron of Slane and Thomas Fleming of Syddan, | xl. |
| O'Relie, with his sonnes and kynnesmen, | lx. |
| Captain Harrington's bande, | xl. |
| | cclx horsemen. |

| | KERNE. |
|---|---|
| The Viscounte of Gormanston, the Baron of Delvin and the Plunketts, | cc. |
| O'Reley, with his sonnes and kynnesmen, | ccc. |
| The Baron of Slane and Tho. Fleming of Syddan, | c. |
| The Kerne which I have in wages with Tho. Flemyng of Syddan, | c. |
| | vii$^{c}$ kerne. |

"Theis kerne, with the horsemen above written, amounting to the full number of nine hundred and sixty men, must be in one company, to passe through the Brenny and MacMahound's country and so over the mountayne of Slewe Baha, and from thence to Arte MacHenrye's, and then to the meeting place, at the fower wastes, (query, wayes?)

| | HORSEMEN. |
|---|---|
| The Earl of Kyldare, | c. |
| The Baron of Dungannon, Turlogh Brasiloghe his sonnes, Phelemy Roe his sonnes, and the Captain of Ferney, | c. |
| MacGennys, | xxiiii. |
| Capten Malbie's bande with his other horsemen, | lx. |
| | cciii$^{xx}$ iiii horsemen. |

| | KERNE. |
|---|---|
| The Baron of Dungannon 200, Turlough Brasilogh his sons, Phelemy Roe his sons 360, MacGennys, 100. | 6$^{c}$ lx Kerne. |

"Theis kerne, with the horsemen above written, amounting to the full number of 944 men, to be another company, and to passe over the Blakewater at the forde of Benburb, and so to Slewe Gallen, and so to the meeting place at the fower wastes, (query, wayes?

HORSEMEN.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Earl of Essex of his own Bande, | lx. |
| The Countie of Lowth and Edward Moore, | xl. |
| The Master of the Ordinaunce, | xx. |
| The Treazorer, | xx. |
| The Marshall, | xx. |
| | clx horsemen. |

FOOTEMEN.

| | |
|---|---|
| The bands newly arrived under the leading of Captain Morgan and Captain Acres, | ccc. |
| Captain Moore, | c. |
| Captaine Dering, | c. |
| Captain Cornwall, | lx. |
| | v$^{c}$lx. |

KERNE.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Marshall, | cc. |
| The kerne which I have in wages in Lecale and the Duffreyn, | cc. |
| | cccc kerne. |

"Theis footemen and kerne, with the horsemen above written amounting to the full number of 1120, must be in one company with the Lord Generall, and must pass over the Blackwater at the ford of Benborb, and so to the meeting place of the four wayes.

| | |
|---|---|
| The whole number appointed to meet in this jorney, amounteth to in horsemen, | vii$^{c}$xxiiii. |
| In footemen and kerne, | m m cccxx. |
| Which is in the whole, | m m m xliiii." |

This intended warlike expedition was not set on foot. The above documents which we publish in order to exhibit the character of the State records relating to Essex's enterprise, are but a fraction of them. A few of the noble undertaker's letters are printed in Devereux's *Lives of the Earls of Essex*. The nature and contents of the entire mass will be indicated in Mr. H. C. Hamilton's Calendar of the Irish State Papers (vol. 2), from which the following is extracted, as brief notices of the most remarkable.

In consequence of private letters from the Earl, the Queen, on the 30th March, 1574, decided on revoking him, and "lapping up the matter" with Turlough Lynagh and Sir Brian MacPhelim; yet, on the same day, her Majesty sent instructions to the Viceroy to march against Turlough, his cattle being weak; and ordered Essex to reduce the insurgent knight. Accordingly, the Earl, writing from his camp near Belfast, on the 13th of May, describes his proceedings, which had the effect of inducing Sir Brian to join him, and to promise to build Belfast (castle) as if for himself, and then deliver it to the Queen's use. The league between the colonizing nobleman and the native prince did not, however, last long. It appears by Sir Henry Sydney's narrative (published in this *Journal*) that the Earl's conduct was "intempestine"; and it also seems that he was induced by want of victuals to attack the Irish chief, who owned a vast herd of cattle. On the 14th November, the Earl writes, from Down, of "Sir Brian's treason, and league with Turlough Lynagh to combine in rebellion"; and how Sir Brian, his wife, and two of his captains have been made prisoners, 115 of his men slain, and 3,000 head of his cattle taken. To justify this step, certain informations against the knight are enclosed; and further, the Earl sends a copy of a proclamation he had issued, in justification. The unfortunate chieftain was executed at Carrickfergus. [See MacSkimmin's *History*.]

On the 14th March, 1575, the Queen was fully resolved to go through with the enterprise of Ulster; but the next day she "thought it doubtful." These vacillating counsels checked the spirit of the gallant Devereux, so that in the following October her majesty wrote to him, that she "expects him, being made of the metal he is, not to fester reproachfully in the delights of the English Egypt, where many take the greatest delight in holding their noses over the beef-pots." This brave nobleman hardly needed the admonition, for, in the year previous, he is described as "careless of reckonings, pleasures, fare, and lodging; and forward in the field to endanger his person." His accounts, which contain many curious items of expenditure in Ulster and elsewhere, prove him to have been recklessly expensive; and probably it was this failing which incapacitated him from succeeding in his costly enterprise, and, by its consequences, aggravated the disease that, on the 22nd September, 1576, ended his life.

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# THE IRISH BACACH, OR PROFESSIONAL BEGGAR, VIEWED ARCHÆOLOGICALLY.

Many objects which engage the attention of the naturalist may present to the ordinary observer but little, if any, attraction; and some of his studies have at first sight rather a repulsive aspect. A stagnant pool, covered with green slime, is by no means calculated to attract attention, but the stern duties of the student of natural history require that even this loathsome object should be examined; and a result is arrived at, far different from the first uninviting impression. In like manner, the careful observer of social life must not confine his studies to the elevated or middle classes of society, but must descend to every grade, even to what may be termed its very slime or dregs. Such may be considered the tribe of professional beggars in Ireland; and to shew that they are not unworthy of being noticed even in an Archæological light, is the object of this paper. These mendicants are not to be confounded with ordinary chance beggars, victims of adversity or improvidence: they are totally distinct, and have no point of resemblance except that both solicit alms. The Bacachs form, what to some extent may be termed, a confraternity or secret society, and one which has existed from a very remote period, probably long anterior to Christianity. In order to exhibit them in what appears to be their true character, it may be permitted to allude to the great ethnological results which have been obtained from the labours of modern philologists.

The conclusion they have arrived at, is, that all the European nations with but slight exception, many Asiatic nations, and all those of Southern Hindostan, are the descendants of a great people, who in remote ages attained a high point of civilisation in central Asia, whence, at different periods, migrations proceeded to the south-east and north-west, so that a curved line of 15 to 18 degrees of longitude, extending from the Island of Ceylon to Ireland, would indicate the direction of their progress. For many years after the first broaching of this theory, it was generally supposed that the Celtic races did not form a part of this great family of nations; but it is now established not only that they do, but that they display indications of having been at a remote period a civilised, if not a refined people. The theory in question was originally termed the Indo-Germanic, and appears to have had its rise in Germany, where the many analogies between the German and Sanscrit languages were first noticed; but the researches of other European scholars having resulted in the discovery of equally striking resemblances between Sanscrit and the other European tongues, the theory is now known under the more general denomination of the Indo-European.

Hitherto these ethnological researches have been confined to the studies of philologists: it remains to be shewn whether other vestiges besides those of language may not exist, which would exhibit further points of resemblance. For instance, the language of Ireland being traced to the same

source as the Sanscrit of India, we are naturally led to enquire whether coincidences of other kinds may not exist: and if they do exist, it will be interesting to investigate whether these resemblances are found in other nations.

The enquiry would naturally commence with the most ancient nations; and as we may regard the religion and mythology of the Hindoos as being almost as old as the Sanscrit, we may enquire if there are proofs remaining in Ireland of our ancestors having ever had similar forms of worship. When we consider that the open profession of Paganism has been suppressed in this country for fourteen hundred years, it would appear that materials for such an investigation could with difficulty be found in Ireland; and the opinion of most of our leading scholars is, that it is utterly hopeless to endeavour to throw any light on the Paganism of our ancestors. There are, however, intelligent antiquaries who hold different views, and maintain, not only that the idolatry of ancient Ireland has left strong vestiges still existing, but that they are sufficient to lead to the inference that it was at one time very similar to, if not identical with, the present idolatry of Hindostan. An enumeration of the many points of resemblance would alone occupy too much time in an essay not devoted especially to the subject; but a few may be mentioned, which being familiar to every one, involve no lengthened arguments to elucidate them. Many of these vestiges are of a superstitious character, but some are still associated with the religious notions of our peasantry. For instance, of the superstitious class, the practice of "divining by the blade-bone" is not long extinct in the south of Ireland: proofs that it did exist are sufficiently numerous, and that it was practised exactly in the same manner in Ireland as it is at present in modern Greece, and in most parts of Asia as far as the Island of Ceylon.[a] The bone for divining must be the right shoulder-blade of a ram; and auguries are drawn from it by removing the flesh and looking through the semi-transparent bone: another process was to broil the bone, and divine by the cracks caused by the fire: another expedient was to reduce the bone to a powder, to be used in a cup moistened as tea-leaves are used at present. This Indo-European rite, if we may so term it, is at least one very strong coincidence. Another is the wide spread superstition of "the horse shoe:" this is so perfectly familiar that it requires no illustration, its prevalence all through Hindostan being as well known as in Ireland: the gates of Peshawur in Affghanistan are said to be studded with horse shoes. Various minor charms and superstitions of our peasantry have their counter-

[a] Rubruquis and other Oriental travellers speak of blade-bone divination as practised on important occasions, particularly before starting on any expedition. Huc (*Christianity in China*, vol. i., p. 233) speaks of blade-bone divination among the Mongol Tartars. Indeed, its prevalence throughout the East is too well known to require any references. The same may be said of modern Greece. In Archbishop Baldwin's *Itinerary of Wales*, by Giraldus Cambrensis (vi., p. 192), many anecdotes are told of the Flemings, then recently established in that country; and mention is made of divining by the blade-bone, with instances strongly resembling those of Irish legendary lore. I have just ascertained that the practice still lingers in parts of the County of Tipperary, and I have no doubt it would be found in other parts of Ireland, particularly amongst the Irish-speaking portion of the population in Ulster, who are said to retain many ancient superstitions.

parts, if not prototypes, in India. As to the religious rites which are identical with those of India, one is, that of affixing rags to trees at holy wells. This is generally regarded in the light of votive offering, but it is of a character altogether different. We read of a Hindoo Rajah performing his devotions, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to a celebrated temple, which he enriched with a variety of offerings of diamonds, and other valuable treasures: one of his gifts being a golden statue of a cow of full size, all solid. Having performed all the ceremonies and rites, he ended his devotions by attaching a *rag* to an adjacent tree. The intent with which this is done in India, is identical with the notions of our peasantry, namely, that all the spiritual and corporeal ailments of the votaries are deposited in the rag. The words used on such occasions by the Irish votary clearly express this object:—*Air impidh an Tiarna, mo chuid tinnis do fhaigint air an àit so:* that is to say, "invoking the Lord, my ailments are deposited in this place."[b]

The devotions of the Hindoos at such sites as we are in the habit of terming "Druidical," have lately attracted the notice of oriental antiquaries. The ancient stone monuments, known among us as *cromleacs*, are resorted to in India as places of devotion: that their uses in Ireland were at one time similar may be shown from the fact that one at least (in Valentia Island) is still so frequented, where the peasantry circumambulate the monument and attach their rags as at other places. It must be admitted that the peasantry in general have lost all tradition respecting these monuments, as is the case in all parts of the world where they are found, except in Hindostan. There we find, as in Ireland, in connexion with the cromleacs, those remains which are called rock-basins; these are sites of devotion in India and in Ireland both existing at the present day.[c] At Ballyvourney[d] the rites are performed on St. Gobnate's day. In a recent visit to that spot I was accompanied by two intelligent gentlemen, who were so struck with the various Hindoo coincidences, that the one said to the other, it was to be deplored that we were not as familar with the legendary lore of India as we were with that of our own country. This remark elicited a reply of which the following is the substance:—"When the Sultan, Mahomed Beyra, was going through India with iconoclastic zeal, breaking up all the idols he could find, the ardour of his followers was highly augmented by discovering that one of the most revered objects of idolatry, on being broken up, contained a vast amount of treasure in rubies and other precious stones. Flushed with success they

[b] It was in *Asiatic Researches* I read of the Hindoo Rajah attaching the rag. My only authority for the identity of intent is the statement of a non-commissioned officer, for many years employed in India as a writer. In Ireland the rag is viewed somewhat in the light of a scape-goat: it is considered the depository of the spiritual or bodily ailments of the penitent. A story is told of a revengeful farmer, who abstracted rags from a bush and scattered them on the road which he knew one of his enemies was to pass, hoping that he might pick them up and thereby become possessed of all the maladies they contained: an ingenious device displaying more faith than charity.

[c] Stone circles abound in India and are the resorts of the votaries of Vetal, a worship said to be older than Brahmanism. Cromleacs are in some instances in India called altars, and are sites of devotion at this day.

[d] Ballyvourney an ancient Township in the Barony of West Muskerry, county of Cork.—Smith's *Cork*, v. i. p. 185

repaired to Somnath, where they demolished an idol held in great veneration. It was the famous cow *Nandi*. Such an unheard-of sacrilege spread terror amongst the pious Hindoos; but they became pacified on observing that, on the Mahomedans leaving the temple, they were attacked by a *swarm of bees*, which so beset the whole army that they fled in all directions, and never ventured to resume their unholy outrages." Now a legend perfectly similar is told of our Ballyvourney. It appears that during the life-time of St. Gobnate, that holy saint was one day employed in pious exercises, and not being aware that all the inhabitantsof the neighbourhood had gone off on a cattle-spoil expedition, was suddenly disturbed in her devotions by the appearance of an armed body of men, engaged in plundering her sanctuary and the neighbourhood. The saint on discovering that she had no one to protect her, had recourse to prayer as her only expedient in the emergency; and immediately the *bees from her hive* swarmed round the army, and attacked them with such fury that they at once rushed away to their own country, without further injuring St. Gobnate or her neighbours' property.

Similar examples of Hindoo legends coincident with Irish ones are very frequently to be found in the Puranas, or Sacred Books, leaving no doubt that both are derived from some one central source, from which they were taken south-easterly to India, and north-westerly to Ireland, ages before the time of Mahomed or St. Gobnate. Even the manner of "telling the beads" in prayer is so evidently oriental, that we are forced to the conclusion that, like the devotions at holy wells, it had its origin long before Christianity. In many places in Ireland the beads are not strung together in the usual manner, but are placed in heaps ready for the devotees. They consist of small quartz stones about the size of pigeons' eggs, and are transferred from the heaps in exactly the same manner as in India. The use of notched sticks marking the decades, is another practice of oriental origin. Indeed the general similarity between Hindoo and Irish legendary lore is as strong as the analogy of the two languages; and although it may not be so valuable evidence in an ethnological enquiry, it is nevertheless an important collateral aid. In the Vishnu Purana we have a legend of the destruction of a great serpent by the hero-god Crishna, the details of which closely resemble those Irish legends which prevail throughout our country, everywhere located, at our lakes, on the ocean, and at the ends of estuaries. Even the same expedient for reconciling an historical anachronism is to be found in Hindoo and Irish literature: in both instances an abode in the other world, of apparently a few hours duration, turns out to involve several centuries. Thus a Hindoo king, besieged with suitors for his daughters, obtains an interview with Bramah. On his arrival at the celestial court, he observes the deity seated listening to his choristers, and being unwilling to disturb the heavenly choir, waits a short time until they have finished their hymns. Then the deity benignantly inquires the object of the king's mission: the latter expresses his wish that Bramah would direct him in the choice of a husband for his daughter, and mentions the names of the suitors; whereupon the deity informs him, to his great astonishment, that all those persons were long since dead—five hundred years having

passed while the holy choristers Ha Ha, Hi Hi, and Hu Hu, were singing their hymns. Bramah tells the king to return to earth, and to give his daughter to the hero Bala Ram. When that hero sees his future bride, he observes that her gigantic stature is not suitable for his comparatively small figure: he accordingly employs his furrowing plough-share, and cuts her down to a reasonable size.[e] In like manner, our Gaelic bard Ossian spends some centuries in Tir na n-Og, a period which he conceives to occupy only one day, and on his return to earth finds the human race has degenerated to a very dwindled size.

The similarity of legendary oral lore extends even to literary composition. In the Ramayana is a long narrative of a person seeking to obtain possession of a wonderful cow, sending embassies with various offers and presents, in order to procure even a loan of the coveted animal, and with final instructions that, if these overtures were rejected, recourse must be had to force. The negociations are at first apparently successful; but being ultimately broken off, an endless detail of battles and single combats ensues, which eventuate in failure. This description would exactly apply to a well-known ancient Irish tract, called the *Tàin Bò Cuailgne*, except that the animal contended for is not a cow but a supernatural bull. There are various similar tales in Hindoo mythology, and although they are said to refer to historical characters, it is elsewhere alleged that they are only astronomical allegories. In Irish history also there are such tales, and as they are obviously fabulous, it is highly probable that they may hereafter be explained in the same way. It would be easy to add to the list of coincidences between ancient Irish vestiges and existing rites and usages in India: a full enumeration of them would suffice to lead to the conclusion, that the ancient paganism of Ireland must have closely resembled, if it were not identical with, Hindoo idolatry.

The feeding of sacred fishes in lakes in India is familiarly known. At Manasarovara, one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in India, all devotees going thither are provided with bread for this purpose.[f] There is in the county of Cork, near Rosscarbery, a lake with floating islands, held in great veneration by the peasantry: the fish are never molested, on the contrary, all pilgrims provide themselves with bread for feeding them. The "pattern" day is Whitsunday; and not many years since the lake might have been seen all covered over with white cakes for the use of the fishes. This lake is called Lough-a-dereen, and is about half-a-mile in diameter, being nearly circular.

Another singular coincidence presents itself, though not of a superstitious or religious character, but rather a practical civil usage. It is called *Durmoh*; a mode of seeking payment of a debt in Hindostan, by which the creditor is entitled to take up his seat opposite the door of the debtor, and there to remain until the debt is discharged. We find that a similar mode of application is prescribed

[e] This occurs in "Wilson's translation of *Vishnu Purana*" in the life of "Bala-rama."

[f] I think it was in Burnes' *Bokhara* I read of the feeding of sacred fishes. The practice is, however, common in many parts of India.

in our old Brehon Laws. As a full translation of those interesting records is now in process of publication, doubtless many coincidences will be found to exist between the legal modes of proceeding in ancient Ireland and Hindostan.[g]

In Moore's Hindoo Pantheon, one very conspicuous picture represents the hero-god Crishna seated, performing on a musical instrument: he is surrounded with a group of dancers, each dancer being provided with two sticks, the length of which, judging by the size of the figures, may be two and a half feet. Now one of the most ancient of Irish dances is called Drohidy, and in that dance each performer is provided with two sticks of a length corresponding with the Hindoo representation. The dance of Crishna is still performed in India, and such being the case it would be well worth the labour of ascertaining whether the musical air is the same. This dance may be termed an Indo-European war dance, inasmuch as both love and war are pourtrayed in the performance. In all parts of Europe it is to be met with: in England it is well known as the "Morris dance," supposed to have been introduced by John of Gaunt. It may be seen in the streets of Lisbon, Madrid, and even in London, accompanied with exactly the same tune. It was obviously well known in England ages before the time of John of Gaunt, and it would appear more probable that it was taken from Ireland than from Spain; to which it is likely that it came with the Indo-European races, from the parent stem in central Asia. And so we may say of the Bacachs of Ireland, and the Fakeers or holy beggars of India; both one and the other being to this day the representatives of a class or order which must have existed in the original centre here alluded to. In an interesting communication which I have received on the present subject, curious points of resemblance are observable. A literary friend informs me that he took great pains to instruct one of his acquaintances, who was about to visit India. He accompanied him to witness such sites in this country as were likely to be the resort of the Bacach fraternity, and they studied their habits with great attention. One striking peculiarity observable was the strange Oriental chaunt, and with this they made their ears perfectly familiar. The gentleman so instructed went out to India, and on his return stated, that on landing at Bombay and on his way into the city, he was astounded on recognising the cadences and chaunting of a Fakeer to be so exactly similar to what he had heard in Ireland, that he could have almost imagined the man to have been brought out and placed there on purpose to delude him. During his stay in India he followed out his observations on the Fakeers, and returned home thoroughly convinced of their being so like the Irish Bacachs, that nothing but a common origin could account for the fact, no matter how many thousand years had elapsed since they first separated.

[g] This mode of claiming the amount of a debt is well known as "Durmah" in India, and requires no reference. That a practice quite similar is minutely described in the old Irish Brehon Laws, I learn from a gentleman engaged in the translation of them now in progress of publication. Indeed it would appear to be a natural expedient everywhere. I have heard of a bailiff in New York who, with a view to the performance of a required "service," ordered a rocking chair to be placed opposite the debtor's house, and taking his seat, fortified with gin sling and a cigar, determined to remain until he should effect his purpose. Here is a species of impromptu "Durmah," slightly modified by the usages of modern civilized society.

Having, I fear, dwelt too long on this preliminary stage, I shall proceed to give the result of what I have been able to collect in Ireland respecting this mysterious brotherhood. In the first place, as to their religion, strange as it may appear, they can scarcely be called Christians, notwithstanding their outward pretensions to devotion and their constant attendance at places of prayer. They are always conspicuous *outside* the chapel gates, but who ever saw a Bacach at Mass? They never receive or attend the sacraments of any church; that of marriage they totally disregard, although they do unite by a species of temporary conventional contract, generally broken by mutual consent. Their notions of paternity are influenced by expediency: the father may take charge of all the children, or he may hand them over to the mother; or, as is frequently the case, the parents divide them equally between them. They do not consider their offspring as any incumbrance, but rather as auxiliaries and profitable appendages.

The following anecdote will throw some light on their proceedings in such matters. The master of one of the union workhouses in the south of Ireland had for a long time turned his attention to the Bacach tribe, but found that he could not obtain satisfactory information respecting them from any of the fraternity. On his appointment to the workhouse he thought he would have a favourable opportunity of studying them, and availing himself of his first leisure interval, he made enquiry among the inmates, expecting to meet some of the old faces with which he had been long familiar. To his surprise he found there was not one in the house; and he soon ascertained that from the opening of the establishment, although there had been many beggars received into it, no genuine Bacach had ever presented himself. This appeared to him perfectly unaccountable: he knew they had not all died, for he recognised at chapel gates, at holy wells, fairs, and patterns, the same groups as before. He then came to the conclusion that their previous earnings must have been carefully stored up; for it was impossible, in the prostrate condition of the peasantry at that time, that they could spare as much as would sustain so large a number as the Bacach community consisted of. At length the famine year came on, and then he concluded that the whole fraternity would have crowded in: day after day passed, and not one presented himself. He made enquiries among the other workhouses with a like result. At length, towards the end of the famine year, a hale, athletic octogenarian presented himself: he had been for many years well known as a member of the tribe in the neighbourhood, and now the master made sure of solving the Bacach mystery. Accordingly, during his first leisure moments, he commenced his enquiries with "Diarmud an crónawn," that being the name which he had acquired from his well known vocal powers. Here again he was destined to disappointment. "Yeh, sir," said Diarmud, "I was never a real Bacach at all." This statement astonished the master, for he had seen him for many years, and always among the groups of the fraternity, with whom he appeared to be highly popular. On asking Diarmud to account for this, he replied by saying: "If you will listen to my own story about myself you'll come to understand it all, and whenever you have plenty of time I will tell it to you." So

the master appointed a time; and on this occasion, contrary to the strict rules of the workhouse, having provided a good supply of tobacco for the use of Diarmud, they both walked out to an adjacent field, where the following story was told by the pseudo-Bacach:—"When I was very young, my father and mother were both carried off by a fever, and as I had neither brother or sister, I was alone in the world and would have starved, only that at that time there was such a plenty of potatoes in the country, and no one refused enough of them to any poor person. I remember that I did not dislike my way of life at all; going up and down from house to house, getting enough to eat, and being allowed to sleep in barns and such places. Every one said I was a good-looking child, and they were amused with the stories I used to tell. They were all fond of me, particularly the farmers' daughters and wives. I was leading a very pleasant life in this way, until I began to be a great, strong slip of a boy, and then all the men began to turn again me; they said I was old enough and strong enough to earn my bread. At first I pretended not to mind them, but in the long run they all agreed not to encourage me; and one farmer, out of charity, as he said, offered to take me to his house as a labouring boy, and I was obliged to go to him. For some time I got on pretty well: he had three sons about my own age, within two or three years, and I learned reading and writing along with them. This was all very well until I grew to be fifteen years old. I used to take a turn at labouring work off and on, but at length it was settled that I should get up early every morning and work all day long. As I found the labour very hard, I used to rest myself whenever I thought they would not see me. They soon began to abuse me for idling, and the old miser of a father settled that either he or one of the boys should be always standing over me; and so they did sure enough, until I thought sometimes I'd drop down dead, working without rest in the heat of a scorching sunny day. I now saw what was before me, and I made up my mind I would do something or other to get rid of the slavery. I met in the course of my life afterwards a great many people who had been in America, and other places where they have black slaves. I often discoursed with them about the labour they had to do, and I am very sure that in the whole world there is not such cruel slavery as that of a poor Irish farmer's labourer, particularly if the farmer has three or four sons to watch him. I began to think how I could better myself. Sojering I did not like. I used to think how happy I was as a child, going from house to house; but I knew it was no use trying to go back again to that; so at last I recollected the Bacachs that I used to meet at farmer's houses, and I made up my mind to try and join with them; but when I spoke to some of them about it, they turned a deaf ear to me, and I saw they would have nothing to do with me. So I resolved to start as a Bacach on my own account; and to prepare myself for it, I took every opportunity when I was sent with cattle to the fairs, to watch them closely, and try to pick up their *crónaens*, as I had a great voice. I soon learned one or two good ones, and when I thought I was able to go through their ways, I borrowed an old loose coat from one of the neighbours, and getting a good stout stick with seven brass nails at one end of it, I gave my

farmers the slip at the fair of Britway, where you know there is always a great pattern. I disguised myself as well as I could, and took my station at the end of the road going into the fair, because the other part of the roads had too many Bacachs already. I was soon surrounded with crowds of country people, young and old, and it was not long before my plate was covered with half-pence: it was as much as I could do to avoid being seen removing the money, and I soon made a good harvest. So in the height of the fair, when few were going in or out, I went to make my rounds at the well, as I saw the other Bacachs doing; in my way to the well one ragged beggar-woman pushed against me, and got in my way two or three times, but I avoided her as well as I could, and went and knelt down at one side of the well. While I was pretending to be saying my beads, I was looking about and watching all the Bacachs; I saw many of them staring at me, but I did not mind them. At long last, who should I see straight before me at the other side of the well but the same ragged beggar-woman; and whilst I was looking at her, I saw her remove a large bandage from one side of her face, and there she was, a young woman of little more than two or three and twenty, with as handsome a face as I ever saw before or since: she gave me a coaxing wink, and then immediately covered her face again with the bandage. She went on saying her beads for some time, and making a sign for me to follow her; she walked slowly out of the crowd, and into a field away from the pattern: when she saw that I was following her, she went on very quickly two or three fields off, and took her station near a ditch where she could see all the fair without being seen herself. When I came up to her she had removed the bandage and all the rags, and stood exactly dressed like a rich farmer's daughter. She asked me who I was, and what on earth made me be trying to pass for a Bacach. I told her my whole story from the beginning. 'Twas a droll thought of you,' said she; 'but if I was not here, as sure as you are a living man, you'd be killed on your way home to night, wherever you went to. All the Bacachs have watched you, and are determined to murder you, but I'll protect you. I've taken a fancy to you, I'm after parting with a man I lived with for five years: I was very fond of him at first though he was a deal older, but I got tired of him, and we agreed to part last night. We had £150 between us, I have half; he took the children and picked up with another woman, leaving me to look out for a man for myself. I am daughter of a man called Righ Nam-Bacach, (king of the beggars): I can do what I like among them, but it will be as much as I can do to save you. All we have for it is to get clear of the fair, and make off to a distance: if you'll start with me now, we will go to Kilmacthomas, we'll sport away there till all the money is out, and by that time I'll be able to manage my father and all the other head Bacachs, and may be they'll let you alone on my account.' So off we started to Kilmacthomas. The next day she took me into Waterford, and bought me a suit of clothes such as a strong farmer might wear. We then came back to Kilmacthomas, where three or four other couples of Bacachs were sporting away with plenty of money like ourselves: they liked us both very well, but were afraid the old people would never consent to my staying with her, so they advised her to go and see

her father and hear what he would say; and after about a month she went off to a pattern where she was sure of meeting him. She told us that he never was so savage in his life: he abused her, and said she should give me up at once and join with one of their own people. When she refused to give me up, he said he would see what was to be done, but that he was afraid that the other old people would be mad. After that she often went and came: at long last when our money was nearly spent, she brought word that they would not hinder us to do what we liked, but that I was never to make any freedom with the old people. All this time she was teaching me other crónawns, and instructing me in the different goings-on of the Bacachs; and so, after about four months, we left Kilmacthomas, and set off for a pattern at Ard Patrick. I had a large bandage on one side of my face, and a pair of long crutches. Between us we earned a load of money: she would not let me give up any that I got, but I believe she gave more than half of what she got to her father or some of the old people. She used to be always up and down with them, but they never pretended to take any notice of me, though she was continually trying to get me in among them. We went from pattern to pattern, from fair to fair, from holy well to holy well, off and on for five years, until one day she told me she thought we were long enough together; that she was getting tired of me, and she supposed I was tired of her. We had three children, she sent them to her father, and made another Bacach girl pick up with me; she then gave me up £50, which she said was my share, and so we parted friends, and I began life again with my second Bacach wife. I went on that way for many years, until I began to get old, and then I saw what a fool I was not to lay by a store again the rainy day, instead of sporting and drinking. All the raal Bacachs, if they ran short of money, used to be supported, and well; but when I began to think of wanting money, I found there was no use in looking to any one; still, for all that, if the times had remained as they were, I would never have wanted; but when the potatoes failed and the famine came, I was fairly beat out, and only for that, I'd be long sorry to tie myself down in this place." But Diarmud's great difficulty was still to be surmounted, he had to go to confession, and in the "rehearsal" of his delinquencies it appeared, that for sixty years he had never heard Mass nor said a prayer morning nor evening; he had never been married according to the rites of any church; in short, had all that time lived a most profligate life. So ends the narrative of Diarmud an Crónawn.

A further insight into the mysteries of the Bacach tribe may be gleaned from the following statement, which I extract from a letter of one of my friends It appears that he was in the habit of visiting Ardmore every year on the pattern-day, 24th July. For many years he observed a gradual decrease in the numbers of people attending; and, as the parish priest of Ardmore was untiring in his exertions and exhortations towards the suppression of the pattern, it was at length imagined that on the next 24th July there would be no gathering at all. That was in the year 1832. To my friend's astonishment, however, and to that of the priest, and of many persons, it was universally agreed that in the memory of the oldest people, no pattern-day had ever witnessed such multitudes as

were there assembled from all the neighbouring districts, even from the county of Kerry, city and county of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford. Father Magrath's indignation was unbounded; he went through the crowds looking for his own parishioners, but not one of them, nor any from the neighbouring parishes could be seen: all were from distant parts of the country. He could not account for it, nor could any one whom my informant inquired of give any explanation. At length, towards the afternoon, a person who overheard him making his inquiries, introduced himself to him as a cattle-dealer, and gave him the following narrative:—"My business," said he, "causes me to visit all parts of the country. Last spring I went often backwards and forwards in the district between the county of Kerry and the city of Waterford, where I ship my cattle. One evening I was stopping in a rich farmer's house in Duhallow; and after our supper the farmer, his sons, and I went out and sat down smoking our pipes along-side the road. We were not long there when we saw three or four decent-looking men coming towards us from the county Kerry side; they were followed by a good strong horse and comfortable car; they stopped when they came up to us, before the car overtook them, and asked us if we knew any place where they could get accommodation for the night: they said, they were going a long journey to the east-ward, to a place where none of them had ever been before; that they came from the west of the county of Kerry, and were taking a daughter of one of the men to Ardmore, in consequence of a dream she had. Whilst they were talking, the car came up: on it was a large feather bed covered with a substantial quilt, on which lay a handsome but very delicate-looking young woman: she had a long string of beads which she continued telling while we were talking about her. Her mother, a respectable-looking woman, sat beside her. They said the girl had a complaint in her back for two years, which kept her confined to her bed, and they were afraid she would never be well; until the week before, when she dreamt for three nights, one after the other, that if she went to Ardmore and crept under the holy stone, she would recover her health and strength. The young woman was full of piety, she had a large cross in her hand, and it was most edifying to hear her devout manner of speaking. The men having asked where they could get accommodation for her and for themselves, said they would gladly pay for their lodging; as for victuals, they had a good store of potatoes, bread, and bacon with them, as well as tea and sugar. The farmer told them he had two clean barns, which they looked at and were highly pleased with. Having made every preparation, the four men, assisted by the farmer and his men, lifted the bed from the car without disturbing the young woman, and placed her gently in a chosen spot in one of the barns. Chairs and tables were sent to them; the farmer's wife and daughters did all they could to comfort her and her mother, and at their request all joined in saying a rosary, and in a prayer to St. Declan, which they said the young woman thought of herself, and made them repeat, word for word, after her. The men were her three brothers and her father: they sat with us for a couple of hours in the house talking about her. We said, they must be very fond of her, for so many to leave home with her together. They said she was so holy that they thought

she was a saint, and considered they would not have luck if they didn't all join in doing what they could for her. Early in the morning her mother called the women up, and took them into the barn, where they said another rosary and a prayer to St. Declan. When they went away after breakfast, they promised the farmer they would call on their way back. I made it my business when I was passing there in ten days afterwards, to inquire if they had any account of her, and was delighted to hear that the party had all returned in the greatest glee: the horse almost galloped up to the door, the four men jumped off the car, and the young woman as lightly and nimbly as any of them, while the poor mother sat on the car crying with joy. The young woman went into the house to thank the farmer's wife and daughters, and kissed them all over and over again. She looked so handsome and healthy that they scarcely knew her: she made them all say a rosary and the prayer to St. Declan, and enjoined on them that they should tell every one of the benefit to be derived from going under the holy stone at Ardmore. When she was going away, the men that were with her told the farmer and his family, that as there could be no doubt she was a real saint, they ought to ask her to bless them, which after some pressing, she consented to do: she and her party then took a friendly leave, and went on their journey to the county Kerry. I own," continued the cattle-dealer, "that I was greatly moved to devotion on hearing of the young woman's miraculous recovery; but it was not long before I had reason to suspect that the whole affair was an imposition: for in a few days afterwards, as I was staying near Kilworth, another family came along, who said they were from the county Tipperary, and that they were going to Ardmore on account of a dream, but the ailing person this time was a delicate boy about 16 years old; he had the same appearance of devotion, and conducted himself exactly like what I had seen of the young woman. His father, mother, and brothers were with him, and I expected I should have found they were the same people that I had seen in Duhallow; but they were not, nor were they dressed like people from Kerry; you would have known them to be from the county Tipperary. A few days after, I came across an old Bacach, near Macollop; he was not dressed like a farmer, but in his rags, as I had often seen him at fairs, and he was begging his way to Ardmore in consequence of a dream, to get cured of a dreadful sore leg. In the course of the spring, I met several other gangs on the same errand from the west of the county Cork; and in the city itself I heard of as many more: as far as I could find out, they all returned home cured, and recommended all ailing people to go to Ardmore. As for the Bacach with the sore leg, I saw him near Conna coming home and showing his leg perfectly healed, yet that same fellow is here to-day with his leg seemingly as bad as ever. As I live in this neighbourhood, I had the curiosity to inquire about all these cures at the holy stone, but no one could tell me anything about them; and the people who live about the strand told me that no strangers had been there all the spring; and could not have been at the holy stone without having been seen by some one or other. From all this, I am sure that the great crowd here to day is caused by the pretended cures, and that the people who got them up are not only numerous but have plenty of money amongst them, and that they are all of the Bacach brotherhood."

So ends the account of the cattle-dealer, whose view of the subject seems quite reasonable. That all the pilgrimages of that season were the result of a plan arranged in some unknown part of the country appears evident, and we cannot ascribe the framing of the plot to any other but the Bacach fraternity. To them also would I be disposed to attribute the origin of an entirely new pattern some twenty years ago. About that time died the Rev. John Power, of Ballyhaloe; and to the surprise of every one in the neighbourhood of Roscarbery, on the very first anniversary of his death, a vast crowd of people assembled at his grave, not only from the immediate neighbourhood but from distant parts of the country. This attracted the notice of two young clergymen, curates of the catholic parish. On visiting the spot, they found the whole ritual of rounds going on just as it would do at any old established pattern; a certain number of Paters, Aves, and Credos being said at particular stations which appeared to be well known to the multitude. The young priests who observed this were not a little curious to discover who it was that had prescribed these forms; but though they took particular pains, they were never able to acquire any information on the subject. The pattern thus originating at Roscarbery has gradually increased every year, and is now as celebrated as any of the great sites of pilgrimage in Ireland.

Another mysterious transaction, of probably the same character, occurred about forty years ago, in the parish of Ballynoe, in the barony of Kilnataloon. An old woman lodging for a night adjacent to the village, said that she had dreamt of a holy well, which would cure her complaint. She knew the name of the well, but required a guide to find the spot. On reaching it, there was great difficulty in discovering the well, which had not been used for many years, although it still retained its name of Tubbereen Killa Greine: the place was a mere swamp on the side of a hill. From the glowing description the old dame gave of the efficacy of the well, she received every assistance in her efforts. She had learned in her dream that a stone trough and a small image would be found at the desired spot; and accordingly, great was the excitement of the beholders on discovering these two objects, which the old woman at once recognised as those she had seen in her dream. The fame of the well soon spread all round the country, as far as Cork on one side and Waterford on the other; and in less than three weeks, such a number of tents were raised that the place had the appearance of a large encampment. It was resorted to by all kinds of people, some of whom, not a few, were of a less than ambiguous repute: many irregularities took place, and the parish priest exerted all his influence to denounce the so-called miracles. On one occasion he was addressed from the body of the congregation by a strange man, apparently of the farming class, who boldly told him that he had been an eye-witness of the miracles himself, and that he would rather believe what he saw than what the priest said who had not seen them. The fame of Tubbereen Killa Greine lasted for about three months, when several people were murdered in a faction-fight, which caused the civil authorities to throw the weight of their influence in aid of the priest: the encampment was broken up, and the reputation of Tubbereen Killa Greine sunk down to the obscurity of an ordinary well.

There can be but little doubt that this occurrence originated with our Irish "Fakeers," and if so, we are led to believe that these mysterious people preserve among themselves traditions of all the old sites sacred to national paganism, and that here had been an ancient "fountain of the sun," with a small temple or cell, as the name *Tobairin Cille Grèine* implies. We may suppose it to have been suppressed in some early Christian age, and the well stopped up according to a form which still prevails amongst our peasantry, but which form and the rites connected with it would, although highly interesting, disturb the thread of our essay. What gives a very pagan air to this story, is the fact that it was alleged that the image found near the trough could "speak;" from which we may surmise it to have been an oracle in pagan times of which a tradition had been handed down.

The Fakeers of India abound in Benares, but Allahabad is so much more patronised by the fraternity that it has obtained the *alias* name of Fakeerabad. If any locality in Ireland were worthy of such a denomination, it would be Ballyvourney. Ardmore, Gougane Barra, Lough Dearg, Shruel, Croagh Patrick, and other places of pilgrimage, are the resorts of the Bacach tribe; but Ballyvourney would appear to have been their "Fakeerabad." There dwelt the professors. What the precise course of studies might have been, is easier to imagine than to ascertain: they might have comprised instructions as to habits, rules of conduct, and secresy; but there was one qualification which the ordinary observer could not fail to perceive, and which appears to have been the leading performance of their lives, this was the *crónawn* or beggar's chaunt. As the traveller passed through the village of Ballyvourney, he heard from the interior of many houses various repetitions of this strange Oriental-sounding appeal. When the aspirant had acquired a proficiency in all the requisite qualifications, he received his diploma in the shape of a goodly black thorn stick, at the upper end of which were conspicuous a certain number of brass nails: to a thorough proficient, the highest number of nails was given, which was seven; and the great virtue of these nails lay in the supposed fact that each nail indicated the efficacy of the prayers of the professor, which was increased in such ratio, that one prayer of the Bacach with a seven-nailed staff was as efficacious as sixty four prayers from one of the single nail. Their mode of ascertaining whether the pupil was entitled to a full diploma was quite practical and by no means equivocal. It is told of the once well known Cormaceen-a-Dèire (Little Cormac of the alms), that when his studies were nearly completed, he felt perfect confidence in his own powers, but his instructor, doubtful of his competency, determined on applying the usual test. Accordingly, the next coming "pattern" was fixed upon for the trial. Cormaceen was stationed at one end of the village, and the professor, "Bacach na Barrlin," (the Bacach of the sheet), so called from his dress, occupied the bridge, each being provided with a seven-nailed staff. In the evening, on comparing their receipts, Cormaceen produced a considerable surplus, and thus proved himself qualified to depart on his vocation. There might have been in other parts of the country, similar colleges, but in the south of Ireland, Ballyvourney was the only one of any celebrity; so much so, that in describing one of the fraternity, he was always stated to be "Bacach o Ballyvourney," or "Cleire

Gobnaiti," (Gobnat's clergy). St. Gobnate was the patron saint of the place, her name like that of St. Bridget having probably had its prototype in that of some ancient Irish goddess.

Ballyvourney retains many vestiges of paganism still. Venerated ruins of structures, the original object of which is only dimly surmised; two holy wells; several rock basons; a cairn with an Ogham-inscribed pillar stone, around which "stations" are performed with the usual rag rite; a wall of large cyclopean masonry; and, to complete the Hindoo affinities, a path-way called the *Bohar na bó finnè*, "the road of the white cow."

As to the costume of the Bacach, it would appear to have been, to some extent, optional. We have seen that one, a professor, chose to array himself in the ample folds of a white sheet; but on his peregrinations he must also have been provided with a certain number of bags for receiving the various contributions of the peasantry. We find that in the days of Robin Hood, similar appendages were borne by the beggars of that time.

*Robin Hood (assuming the disguise of a Sturdy Beggar of his time.)*

Then Robin got on beggar's clothes,
And turning round about,
Methinks, says he, I seem to be
A beggar brave and stout.
For now I have a bag for my bread,
And another for my corn;
I've one for salt, and one for malt,
And one for my bugle-horn.

*And again,*

Give me a bag for bread and a bag for cheese,
And a bot'le for my boose;
A bag for pence ere I go hence,
That I may nothing lose.

*Robin Hood's Garland, Sec.* 19 *and* 21.

We may now dismiss the Bacach, as he has almost disappeared from the social stage. One word as to his name; though not euphonious, it might perhaps claim an exalted origin, even equal to that of the deity *Bacchus*, who, according to Reeves's Cyclopedia, was so called from the Phenician word *bakah*, to weep—the name being synonymous with mourning. His mother, Semele, having been struck with lightning at the moment of his birth, he was thereupon so denominated from the grief of the family. In O'Brien's Irish Dictionary, the word *béice* is given, signifying "clamorous

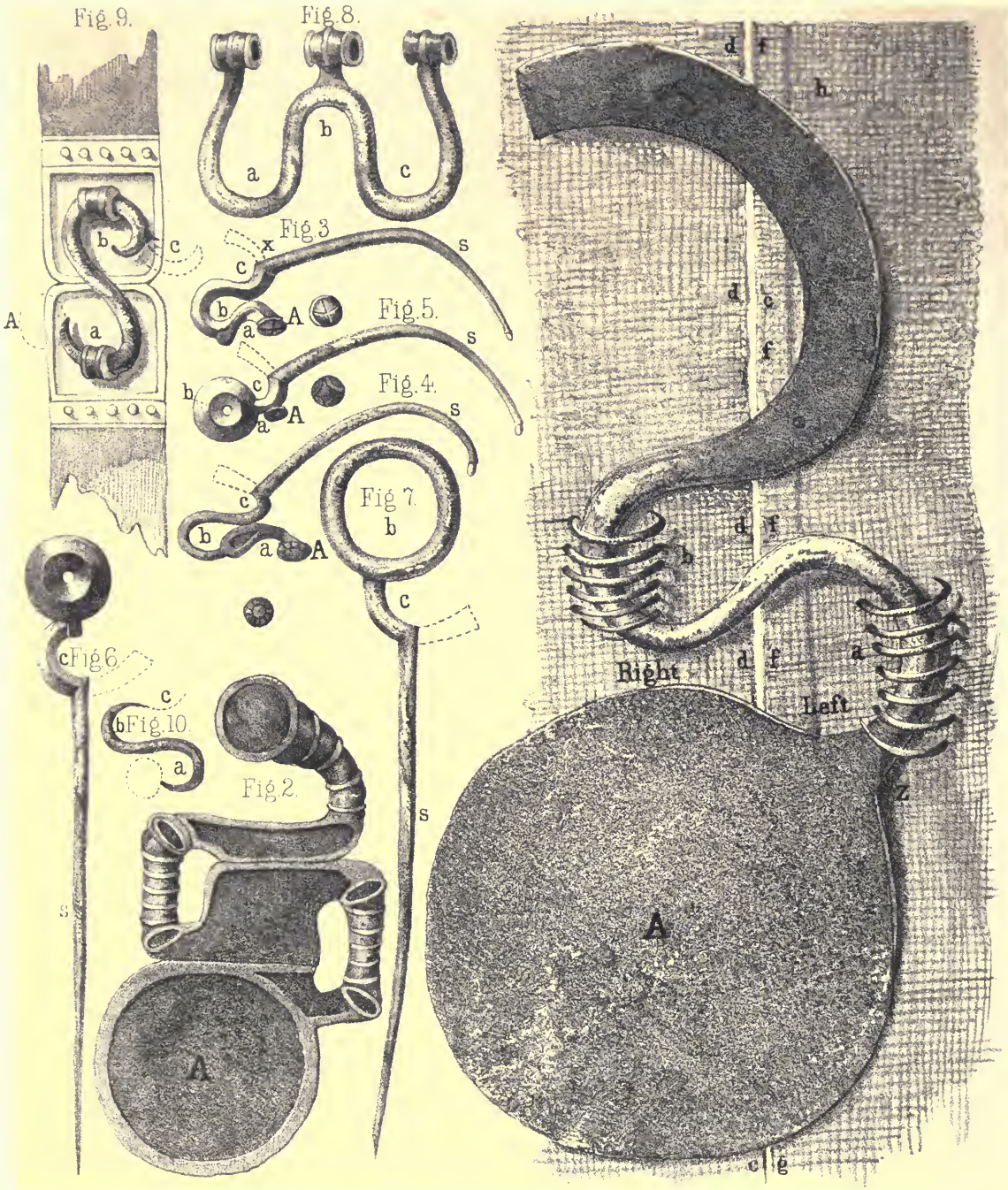
Fig. 9.
Fig. 8.
Fig. 3
Fig. 5.
Fig. 4.
Fig. 7.
Fig. 6.
Fig. 10.
Fig. 2.
Right
Left
A
a
b
c
d
f
g
h
s
x
z

weeping," and as being cognate with the Phenician or Hebrew word above mentioned. In corroboration of this etymology, it will be remembered that the pre-eminent qualification of an Irish *Bacach* consisted in a lamenting musical appeal already so frequently alluded to under the name of *crónawn*. To those, however, who may not be disposed to seek so far for an etymon, we may propose the modern Irish word *bacach*, denoting "a lame person"; many of the fraternity in question having no doubt assumed lameness for the purpose of exiting pity.

William Hackett. Cork.

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# ON THE USE OF CERTAIN ANTIQUE BRONZE ARTICLES, SUPPOSED BY SOME TO BE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

There is a class of antiquities found occasionally in Ireland which are deserving of some notice for various reasons, and particularly as their nature has been altogether misunderstood until lately, and as considerable doubt still exists as to the manner in which they were used. I allude to certain bronze articles, whose form may be described in general terms as that of a long, slender bar, bent into several abrupt curves, and terminated by a large, flat disk: on some specimens a helix or spiral of bronze wire is found in one of the curves.

We find a notice of several of these curious objects published in 1845, in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, (vol. iii, pp. 135—6,) by the late Dr. Robert Ball, illustrated by engravings. He assumes that they were what are called "crotals," or at least a sort of semi-musical instrument of the same nature as the castanet, and used very much after the fashion of the "bones," now employed as an accompaniment to the so-called "nigger melodies." The notion that these instruments were intended for producing a noise of some sort, may be traced to that source of so many antiquarian errors, General Vallancey. In the published *Catalogue of Relics of Ancient Art shown at the Dublin Exhibition in* 1853, (p. 149,) we find the following description applied to the object represented in the annexed Plate I. fig. 1:—"A bronze instrument, called by Vallancey a 'crepitaculum.' This was found during the improvements of the River Shannon, at Athlone, in the summer of 1849:"—a locality, by the way, very unlikely to have furnished a musical instrument. Dr. Ball, however, in the article above referred, to adhered to this notion, and in confirmation of it adduced the testimony of a gentleman recently returned from Persia, that instruments closely resembling this were used in that country, like castanets, for marking the time in music. It is now nearly twenty years since this statement was published, and although I have had opportunities of making inquiry from many Eastern travellers, I have never found one who had seen anything of the kind.

I am not disposed to deny that, in the East, dancing-girls, conjurors, and serpent-charmers may employ tinkling disks of bell-metal or silver for accompanying their movements; but after rather extensive inquiry, and the examination of numerous books of travels, I have never hitherto been able to obtain a confirmation of the statement in question. On this account, and likewise for some reasons to be given hereafter, I am inclined to believe that it was altogether erroneous.

Dr Ball maintained that these bronze articles, (of which there are three specimens in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy,) had properly but one disk, and not two as represented in engravings published both by Ledwich, in his *Antiquities of Ireland* and by Camden, in his *Britannia*. He founded his arguments on the fact that the three specimens in that Museum with single disks were each evidently complete, "while the one figured by Ledwich and Camden" (and which lately existed in the Museum of Dublin College) "is a compound of two specimens most rudely and *recently* rivetted together with a common copper rivet." Mr. Petrie, who had every opportunity of examining the double specimen in the College Museum, and several others found with it, which were in the collection of the late Austin Cooper, Esq., informs me that he altogether differed in opinion with Dr. Ball as to the modernness of the rivetting, considering that the twelve articles when found were all of them yoked or linked together in couples, though the rivetted work was very inferior to that of the disks themselves. It was a secondary thought, leading to an application of these things to a use for which they were not originally designed.

Any one who will look at the engraving of one of the articles above referred to, here copied in our Plate I. fig. 1, and compare it with the specimens now preserved in the Academy's Museum, will at once see that they are complete with a single disk. To this disk (see plate I. fig. 5, from a specimen in the Editor's collection), is attached a tail bent into three curves, forming a double hook very much of the same kind as we see used in the belt of a military officer of the present day. One of these modern belt-hooks is represented in plate I. (fig. 9), adding an imaginary disk at one end (in dotted lines), which may be conceived to act as a counterbalance weight, while the other end is prolonged (also in dotted lines) to correspond with our ancient type. If such a fastener were substituted in an officer's belt for the present plain double hook, the metallic disk would hang downwards by its own weight, and the extended pin would point upwards. Now suppose the large specimen shown in Plate I. fig. 1, to be secured by its spiral wires to the two ends of a sword-belt in the position of the ordinary double hook (fig. 9); if we press it downwards by the outer hook *c*, in the direction *h*, we find that both the spirals will slide along the tail as the disk rises. The spiral on the bend *a* is stopped by the disk, and rests at the point of junction between the disk and the tail; but the second spiral is free to traverse beyond the bend *b* as far as a certain point, when the rest of the tail *c* will fly through it with a sudden spring if there be sufficient strain on the loops *a* and *b* in the direction shown by the arrows *d* and *f*. The instrument will thus act as a lever-spring-latch, which could readily be employed for securing a belt or a cloak instead of a

hook or fibula. That it is not a fibula or buckle is evident from the absence of a tongue in every specimen known. If used for fastening a mantle, it would enable the wearer to detach himself from it in an instant, and escape from an enemy attempting to detain him; and if a sufficient strain were used on the hooks *a* and *b*, it would bend or give way, and so detach itself—in this respect being a sort of safety-latch—giving way and so saving the article fastened from being torn.—The fact of the discovery of one of these articles among a quantity of swords and weapons of all ages in the river Shannon, at Athlone, likewise goes to corroborate the idea that it was a portion of military apparel, and not, as supposed by Vallancey, Dr. Ball, and others, a musical instrument.

Dr. Ball was under the impression that the specimen with two disks, lately in Trinity College Museum, had been made out of two single ones rudely rivetted together after their discovery, as indicated by his statement that they were so connected *recently;* but my examination of the instrument itself did no more than show that the workmanship of the joining was bad; and this defect might readily have been concealed, when the article was in use, by covering the part with thin strips of leather, &c. The fact is, that six such specimens were found at the same place, all with a second disk connected in a similar manner by supplemental pieces joined by one or more rivets: and my impression is that, in making this junction, the prolonged portions of the tails of two single ones had been cut off previously in order to form an instrument applicable to a different purpose. This seems evident from the circumstance that the double-pointed spirals, (represented in plate II. fig. 1) still remain on the bends *b*, *b*, of the Trinity College specimen, from which they cannot escape. These spirals made of fine wire, were quite suitable for forming a secure attachment to a dress by turning them round so as to grasp the leather or cloth by penetrating it. By reversing the motion, and turning the spiral backwards, the dress would be released. In the case of the fastener with two disks, each spiral would secure one side of the dress; and when both were freed from it, the fastener would separate itself entirely from the garment. This process would not, however, be so rapid or immediate in its action as in the case of the single disk with curved tail, where the pressure alone on the tail *c* would at once relieve the fastener, by allowing the tail *c* to escape through the helix *b*.

The existence of these spiral wires on the instruments now described (both double and single) is fatal to the theory that they were used as castanets, or "crepitacula," as the wire spirals would tend to damp and destroy any vibratory sounds produced by striking the metallic disks together. But besides this, we have evidence of another kind, in the fact that the part which appears worn by use in several specimens with the single disk, is not the disk itself, but the bends *a* and *b* in the single specimens,—the very places where the rubbing of the helix or of some connecting link would naturally chafe the metallic bar. Also the back of the instrument would have a tendency, from rubbing constantly against the dress, to become polished; and such I find to be the case in several of those with the single disks.

But another and a more cogent reason, which led me to believe that these articles were intended for personal use, was that I had discovered on the disk of one of them (plate II. fig. 2,) evident traces of *enamelling*; and the condition of the surface of several other specimens indicated that they had originally been covered with some ornamental work of that kind. The complete proof of this, however, did not present itself until I had examined the antiquities at the Dublin Exhibition of 1853, when a specimen of the object in question was exhibited by Mr. Cooke of Parsonstown. The description of it given in the Official Catalogue, (p. 150) is as follows:—"One side is rough and unfinished, but the other is highly ornamented with chevrons and lozenges in enamel. It was found in the island at Dowris, King's County." This specimen is the one represented in our plate I. fig. 2. The back or side of the disk, here described as "rough and unfinished," was found on a closer examination to be covered with an *enamel* of one uniform colour, but which had become corroded and rough by long exposure to moisture in the earth. Enough of it remained, however, to protect the bronze from oxidation; for, had this taken place, it is likely that large portions of the enamel would have scaled off and exposed the metal. The entire surface on both sides of the disk appears to have been completely coated with enamel,—a very unsuitable preparation for an article intended to be struck against another, as in a short time it would be defaced. I have satisfied myself that the coating is not a *patina* or oxidation of the metal, but a real vitreous enamel. Indeed, so many articles of copper occur in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy which are actually coated, or which bear evident traces of coating and inlaying with coloured enamels, that we are forcibly led to the conclusion that this process, now lost, was formerly perfectly well understood in Ireland. The hollow patterns on the front and back of the Cross of Cong, in the same Museum, appear to have been intended for the reception of an ornamental material of this kind, though the process of filling them may not have been completed.

Modern Irish antiquarians seem to have adopted without question the opinion that brooches or fibulæ were always used *singly* as cloak-fasteners; but certain fashions in Northern Africa &c. where such contrivances are still retained in use, favor the opinion that they were used in couples. This is the custom at present among the Moors of Barbary. In the case of the disinterments of several skeletons (in the Phœnix Park, Dublin), supposed to be Danish, *two* brooches have been found on each, one on the right and one on the left breast; leading to the inference that in ancient times, a separate front-piece (probably ornamented,) was worn, secured by two such fastenings; similar to the supplemental padded piece of cloth, highly decorated, which formed a prominent portion of the uniform of some continental cavalry five-and-twenty years ago, and is possibly still in use. The only example of ancient Irish cloak which I have had an opportunity of examining, exhibited no traces of having been perforated by a pin or fibula, but on the contrary showed that "drag" or tension which would indicate that it was worn, like an Arab or Bedouin cloak, on the head; being there secured by a fillet and allowed to fly in the wind, or collected about the person when required for

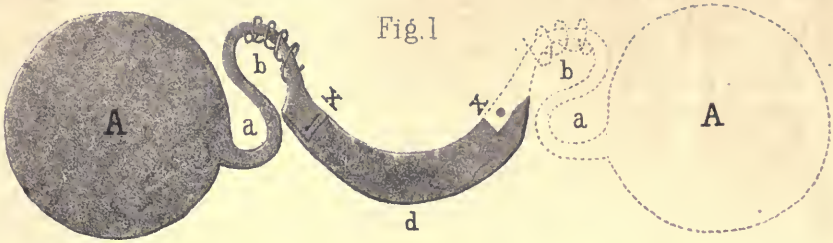


Fig. 1
A
a
b
d
b
a
A

Fig. 2.
c
b
a
A

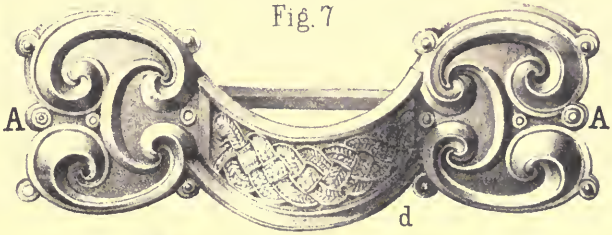
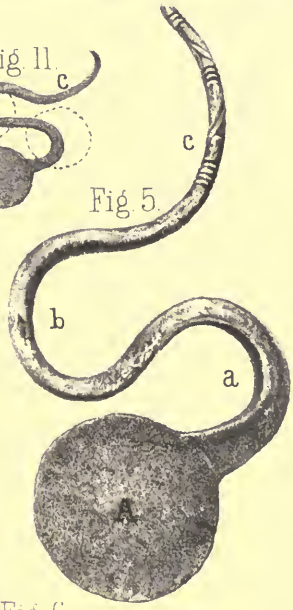


Fig. 7
A
A
d

Fig. 3.
a
A

Fig. 11
c


c
Fig. 5.
b
a
A

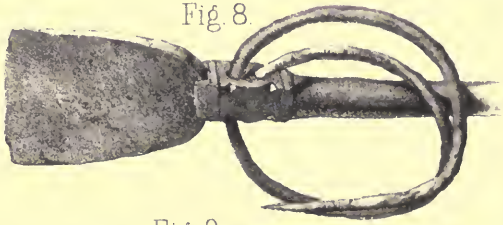


Fig. 8.

Fig. 4.
c
b
a
A

Fig. 9

b
Fig. 6.
c
s
B

Fig. 10.

warmth; but in no way interfering with the use of the right hand in wielding the spear, or the left in guiding the horse. A recent writer on Irish antiquities suggests that the curved stem of these curious articles may have passed through eyelet-holes in the garment, and that they were consequently crooked pins or fibulæ. This notion altogether ignores the original use of the spiral wires, which according to my theory were the actual fasteners of the dress, and thus obviated entirely the necessity of making fixed eyelet-holes or other visible perforations, and by this mode of attachment, allowed ornamented metallic articles such as fig. 2, P. I. and fig. 2, P. II. to be fully exhibited. It is evident, also, from the expansion of portions of the curved tail into decorated surfaces (fig. 2, P. II.) that they were never intended to pass through eyelet holes; and when two instruments were coupled together, furnished with a disk at each end, such a method of use as that proposed was simply impossible.

With the view of testing my theory of the use of these articles, I made one of them, and tried many experiments with it on spiral wires, hooks, and buttons, which satisfied me that my explanation was highly probable. I still felt some doubt as to the precise use of the spirals, until I found examples of them on some arched brooches or fibulæ in the British Museum. These brooches appeared to have been secured to the outside of a garment by means of several short pointed helixes on the bent bar of each fibula, thus leaving free liberty of motion for the æus or tongue. By this contrivance, the place where the brooch was to be worn could be selected and changed at pleasure by the wearer; and he had it always ready to be rapidly fastened to the dress by a few turns of the wire, without injuring the garment. If he took his garment off, he was sure of not losing his brooch, as it could not separate itself. Helixes of this kind might perhaps be even found useful, if revived at the present day. I know of one specimen of bar-brooch found in Ireland (now in the Academy's Museum), with the fragments of some wire spirals upon it, which would favour the idea that their use in securing fibulæ of certain forms may not have been uncommon.

We are, I think, completely at fault for a specific or proper name for these curious things. We cannot call them "spectacle ornaments," as some have proposed, since that shape implies the constant usage of two of them yoked together like fig. 1, Plate 11. That mode of using them is exceptional, and belongs to one "find" only, while we have at least six other "finds," in which these things appear complete, though single. My theory leads to the inference that the arch was worn inverted; and the spirals in the hooks *b b* countenance this inference, which is opposed to the adoption of the name "spectacle brooches or ornaments." And if they were worn, when single, with the disk down and the tail up, they were more like modern hand eye-glasses, and might be named accordingly, if it were not absurd to compare an opaque with a transparent object.

The name "latchet-fasteners,"—will apply to the helixes or spirals only, if they were used for fastening these things to the dress: in practice they were a species of spring-latchets, like the latch on a door, and were worn fully exposed on the fronts of two surfaces of cloth or leather, to each of

which they were temporarily connected by two or more helixes, buttons, loops or hooks, or one of each; for each loop or hook, *a* and *b*, had to hold on to something, otherwise the latch action could not take place.

For so far, I have never heard that any specimens of these curved pins with disks have been found in either England, Wales, Scotland, or any of the Continental countries, so that they seem to present one of the types of ancient art peculiar to Ireland.

H.

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## DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.—Fig. 1, represents a latchet of bronze, full size, formerly in the collection of Mr. Cooke of Parsonstown. It is composed of a large disk A, to which is attached a tail bent into three loops *a*, *b*, *c*, and bearing two spiral wires of the same metal sharpened at the ends, by which the latchet may have been attached at pleasure to a dress or girdle in the manner indicated by fig. 9 in the same plate.

Fig. 2 is a modification of the preceding, (full size). It is likewise of bronze, but is enamelled, and the loops are closed, leaving apertures for receiving probably such hooks as are represented in fig. 9, plate II.; or for spirals which have disappeared.

Fig. 3 (about half-size) is a curious modification of the pattern of fig. 1, produced by cutting off the tail of the latter at the dotted line X, in the same way that the tails of A A, fig. 1, Plate II. are cut off at XX previously to being united by rivetting. The prolonged tails added to fig. 3, instead of the hook *c* (shown in dotted lines) might fit it for an ear-pendant, the hook *s* being bent over the ear and the loop *b* hanging down.

Fig. 4 (about half-size) is similar to fig. 3, and has its prolonged tail terminated by an ornament, showing that it was not intended to pass through the substance of the dress, but to appear externally.

Fig. 5 (about half-size) is a further modification of fig. 1, in which we discover only a trace of the disk A, and traces of loops or curves, one of the latter being here represented by a hole.

Fig. 6, a still further modification of our type fig 1. In it we lose all trace of a disk: *b* is a hole; the curve *c* still remains, but the tail *s* has lost its bend. This article must have served as a pin.

Fig. 7. In this specimen the hole *b* is enlarged into a ring: it is likewise a pin.

Fig. 8 exhibits a curious development of the tail portion only of our fig. 1, the loops *a* and *c* being intended to be caught by hooks.

Fig. 9, a representation of the double hook of a military belt, with an ideal expansion of the one end into a disk A (shown in dotted lines), and of the other end into a tail *c*, to illustrate the supposed use of the objects now under consideration.

Fig. 10 more distinctly exhibits the plain double hook or ∞, supplemented with an ideal disk and tail.

[Fig. 6 of Plate II. is a modification of the same pattern. It is imperfect, and may have been either a pin or hook; I suspect the latter, as B seems to be the remnant of a large disk. More specimens are required to determine its use.]

PLATE II. Fig. 1, represents one of the double or coupled articles mentioned by Dr. Ball; A A being the disks, corresponding to A in fig. 1 of Plate I.: *a*, *a*, *b*, *b*, are the equivalent loops; the loop *c* has been cut away from each half at X X, and the inverted arch-piece *d* substituted and inserted between the two. The spirals were of bronze wire, and served to grasp the surface of some article of dress. There were no spirals or loops in the curves *a*, *a*, as the weight of the different portions of this compound ornament, when it was suspended from *b*, *b*, in the position shown, rendered such unnecessary. The rivetting at the points X X is of bad workmanship, and the part *d* is very thin and unfinished, so that it is manifest that some ornamental work was used to cover it: and as the similar arch *d* in another specimen (fig. 7) is ornamented with plaited

silver wire, it is possible that something of the same kind may have been used here.

Fig. 2, represents an article like fig. 1, Plate I. but much smaller. It appears to be partly enamelled at the end of the tail, at the expansion between *a* and *b*, and in the central parts of the disk A. The pattern, though not fully developed, belongs to that which has been called "the trumpet pattern," of which the disks or expansions A A, in fig. 7, present so beautifully perfect a specimen.

Fig. 3 retains its likeness to our type, fig. 1. Plate I. but has the end of the tail expanded like fig. 2, Plate II. as if to receive a portion of enamel.

Fig. 4 may be taken as the true typical form of all these things. It was found with one helix in the loop *a*, which was closed by the bend of the loop *b* touching the disk, so that the helix could not escape. To complete the type, it ought to have another helix in loop *b*. It might then be supposed to be a fanciful representation of a tadpole clasped on the tail by two small eels. In this specimen the tail is pointed, but those represented by figs. 1 and 2, Plate I. and figs. 2, 3, and 5, Plate II. prove that the point is not an essential part of the original design.

Fig. 5 is copied (full size) from a specimen in the possession of the Editor of this *Journal*. The ornamental lines on the extremity of the tail show that it was for exhibition, and not to be hidden in the dress.

Fig. 6 has been already referred to in describing Plate I.

Fig. 7 is a beautiful ornament, formed of cast white bronze, the design of which is beyond a doubt derived from the ornament with two disks, fig. 1, so modified and contracted, that with the acus or tongue behind, it has become a double brooch to be worn horizontally on the breast in the same manner as fig. 1.

Fig. 8 represents the spatula of a *stylus* or instrument for writing on wax. It is inserted here in order to exemplify the use of the helix or spiral of double pointed wire in fastening an article to the surface of a dress. The modern Irish "poor scholar" secures his pen by passing it through the button-hole of his coat; but the scribe of the olden time, who wrote on wax tablets, preferred exhibiting his *stylus* dangling from a helix. Possibly the rings (split or solid), found attached to many bronze pins, may have been employed for the same purpose; and may indicate that such pins were used for writing on tablets, or at least for making the sign of a cross as a signature.

Fig. 9, a very beautiful hook, such as we might expect to find used for holding the loops *a* and *b* of such an ornament as fig. 2, plate I.

Fig. 10, a highly ornamented enamelled button, which might have served to hold either loop *a* or *b* of fig. 5. It suggests an arrangement in which the disk, ornamented in some manner, and two lateral buttons similarly ornamented, clasped into the two loops *a* and *b*, would represent a tre-foil or shamrock such as

Fig. 11, in which the prolongation of the hooked tail would correspond with the stalk of the leaf.

☞ All the specimens here figured are now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, except those otherwise specified in the foregoing paper.

# THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS.

*(Continued from page 171.)*

Now, haveing mentioned our 6$^{t}$ Laird of Braidstane and his offspring with two cadets of former lairds of Braidstane: viz. Thomas of Blackstonn and Gransheogh; and two other familys, viz: Creboy and Ballymagouns all Montgomerys, and being his next relations, I will not forgett (nor suffer to be buried in oblivion) our forenamed serjant and his Posterity: because of his good service done to y$^{e}$ s$^{d}$ sixt laird, my venerable grandfather.

You have heard he was called Robert Montgomery, and that he was a chief Instrument in y$^{e}$ s$^{d}$ Laird's Escape, and that he brought his Dutch wife with him. Them y$^{e}$ s$^{d}$ Laird entertained at Braidstane, untill his plantation in Ireland, that he brought them over and setled them in y$^{e}$ lands of upper Cuningburn in the Great Ards (so called from the multitude of Coneys or Rabits that were in the banks of the said Bourn or brook:) in fee farm, under a small chief rent. The deed was written only in paper, (as Scotish instruments of that nature comonly are) and not registrated or renewed, but was observed inviolate by all the three first Lords.

The deed had an Endorsment, every word written and signed by the said Laird (then Visc$^{t}$), wh$^{ch}$ I have read, and it was (as neare as I can remember) in the following terms, viz:

I do hereby heartily recomend y$^{e}$ within named Rob$^{t}$ Montgomery, and all his posterity heires males, to y$^{e}$ favour of my son Hugh and to all his deseending heires, leaveing unto them all (who shall be kind to him and them) my blessing on that Accounnt, as a memorandum of my good will and respect to y$^{e}$ said Robert and his Dutch wife, who under God wrought my delivery out of the Marshallsea in the Hague.

Yet notwithstanding all this care and kindness of the s$^{d}$ first three Lords, in the minority of this present Earle, and unknown to him and his nearest relations of kindred, the s$^{d}$ deed of fee farm, so indorsed, was fraudulently got out of the s$^{d}$ Rob$^{t}$ his 2$^{d}$ wife's hands, when she was his widdow, and had his daughter and two sones to maintaine, all under ninteen yeares of age.

William y$^{e}$ eldest son served mee some yeares at Rosemount, and went into Scotland, and died unmarryed, he was a proper young man and had expectations there. Henry the 2$^{d}$ son, in A$^{o}$ 1689, I saw him Quarterm$^{r}$ in the Earl of Eglinton's troop, he is marryed and well setled.

The daughter was marryed to one Maxwell, for whom I took paines and was at Expence to rid him out of trobles, for Rob$^{t's}$ sake.

This memoir I think due to Rob$^{t's}$ fidelity and service to my grandfather, he generously fore-

goeing his halbert, his pay, and y^e^ arreares thereof, and hazarding his life, for love of a gentleman of his surname, then in distress, on what account is before related.

Many inferiour Montgomerys came over, and had mortgages some of fifty, some of one hundred pounds ster. on single townlands, paying a small chiefry and the tyth (whe^h^ ecclesiastieall right our first lord did not, nor would ascertain, the most of his lands belonged to Abbeys and Pryorys, and so might have disposed of them); for instance

Montgomery of Ballyhenny, in Newtoun parish, had one thousand marks Scotish mony on y^e^ town called Ballyheft, and payd but one shill: rent per annum, but when hee (and I believe also his son) was dead, a favorit of another name, since y^e^ restauration had y^e^ redemption of y^e^ mortgage given him by y^e^ s^d^ Lord, it came to fifty pounds, 13^sh^ and 4. as I thinke, and he had above 20^£^ ster: yearely rent out of it.

Item John Montgomery of B: volly (the Son of one of the first planters) was remooved out of his houlding (his father's originall mortgage mony being given him), so he was forced to remoove and take a farm in the north west of Ireland, by which change he lost, and y^e^ incomer gained a yearly income, for by a law made in King Char: y^e^ Martir's reigne, any mortgaged lands which yeelded more than 10^£^ per cent, all y^e^ overplus rent might be counted up as paym^t^ in part (pro tanto) of the original mortgage mony.

I insert these two names onely to shew that there were substantiall Montgomerys (besides the aforenamed) who came over as planters besides Artificers and Yeomen, and those whom (to avoid ostentation) I name not; some of whose posterity in Newton parish and near it, are thriveing farmers and well to pass.

Now that I have related most that I had to say of our 6^t^ Laird and his three sonns Hugh, James, and George, and of his two daughters, and also have written of y^e^ 2^d^ Viscount's children, Elizabeth, James, and Hugh, y^e^ 3^d^ Visc^t^ and first Earle of Mount Alex^r^ and of his offspring, Jean, Henry, Katherin, Elizabeth, and of Hugh y^e^ 4^th^ Viscount and 2^d^ Earle now liveing:

It may be alleadged that I have acted y^e^ Panegyrist, and not noted their Imperfections and faults (which in any man is seldom overweighed by his Vertues) and so I must, or shall be called too favourably Partiall to y^e^ stock from whence I am sprung, and to my fellow branches and nighbours.

Therefor as to this Impeachment I shall so farr defend myself and reputation as to answer thus, viz:

Imp^r^ if I saw my forefathers or Relations or X^tian^ nighbour's nakedness or infirmitys, I should (according to my duty and love) cover them as Sem and Japhet did, rather than deride them as Cham did Noah's, for which his posterity Cainan was accursed.

Item, it is a maxim and axiom in my books, viz. De mortuis nil nisi bonum, de absentibus nil nisi verum, and the Trueth (specially y^e^ whole Trueth) should not be told in all times and places, where it may be scandalum acceptum tho' non datum: except when upon oath before a magistrate.

Item it is ag^t the designe of this narrative wh^ch: is (not to speak evill of any man but) to shew y^e good acts and qualifications of those Montgomerys I have named, thereby to stirr up Posterity to imitate their vertuous examples.

But to come nearer the answer to the objection, in the first place I protest y^t imitation of Posterity is y^e chief end of my writeing.

2^do to shew my gratitude to those I owe it, or to their children.

3^tio to be an example that others after mee may begin where I leave off, and so continue y^e memoriall of our hon^ble family better than I have done or could doe (not haveing adverted and begun sooner) for times past, and always to reguard trueth, as I have laboured and studdyed to doe.

But 4^thly to come up closer to y^e objectors (if any bee) I must tell them, that wee should doe to all men as we would they should doe towards us: and that I believe they doe not desire their own sores (old or new) should be scarifyed or ripped open to view, but rather carefully plaistered and concealed.

And 5^thly (to speak to y^e subject matter of y^e objection) I again protest, I have written without Bribe, or any Expectation of Reward, and without varying from the trueth, either to the right or left hand (that I know of) but have pursued the straight Roade of Duty, which I conceived I owed to my family, nighbours and acquaintances of the surname of Montgomery, God haveing given mee ability and leizure to performe as I have done.

I confess no flesh is faultless, nor myself (perhapps) in point of time, wh^ch: I could not exactly know, for want of Records thereof; but that those I write of were naturally or habitually vicious, or were cursers, swearers, lyars, gamesters (at cards or dice etc.) simulators (alias dicti hypocrites) idolators, drunkards, gluttons, whoremongers (abusers of themselves with man or beast) man-quellers (*i.e.* homicides)or suicides, proud, dissloyall to the Crown, oppressors, cheaters, or any ways wickedly profane or presumptuous, and customary sinners, I utterly deny it, in Thesi; and on the faith of an honest Christian, I believe as I now write, and I never did reade or learne to the contrary. Yet for, and after all this, all of them had some faults rather to be termed omissions than comissions; their greatest and most frequent infirmity was to think men honest who professed sincerity and trueth, and therefore they sometimes trusted before they tryed; and were often more generous than was needfull; and I know for certain, divers of them were imposed upon, cheated and ill rewarded, after protestations and oaths of sincerity, fidelity, and kindness given to them, beyond which no man can expect assurances without hostages.

I haveing in this appollogy sufficiently provided against asspertions of my foregoing writeings, I shall now relate concerning other Montgomerys, for whom there can be no cause of suspicion.

The first I name is Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, where he lives gentily, within ten miles of Enniskillen. He is a Justice of Peace, and was a Cap^t of hors when y^e Fermanagh men defended that town and County from Justin M^cCarty commander of y^e Irish, A^o 1689.

Hee is the eldest son of M^r^ Nicholas Montgomery of Derrybrosk (near the s^d^ town) who was L^t^ in S^r^ Ja. Montg: Regim^t^ after he was driven to flee for his life from y^e^ Irish in A° 1641. This M^r^ Nicholas is aged 84 yeares, and was made M^r^ of Arts in Glasgow, and his father was M^r^ Hugh Montg. whom our B^p^ Geo: setled there, and made him receaver of his Rents in that part of Clogher Dyoces. This Hugh dyed befor that y^e^ rebellion broke out in A° 1641.

This Nicholas had debentures in Ireland for service befor y^e^ 5^th^ of June 1649.

Robert his 2^d^ Son is a L^t^ in the Army and lives unmarryed with his father; he hath a good fortune, and is a propper well-bred man.

Andrew his third Son is a good preacher, hath wife and children and a good liveing and stock at Carrickmacross; he is well loved and in great respect.

Hugh the father of this Nich: was in esteem with our two first Vis^cts^ as being come of Braidstane, and his Coat Armoriall (wh^ch^: I caused to be engraven on a silver penner, and bestowed to y^e^ s^d^ M^r^ Nich: as he had given a yonge mare for breed to my Son) is the same with y^e^ Bearing of the old lairds of Braidstane with a distinction of a Cadet, but y^e^ kindred I know not, y^e^ Coat is y^e^ same with Bp: Geo: S^r^ Tho: Montg: and Gransheogh's.

This last Hugh the ancestor used to make presents to y^e^ s^d^ two Vis^cts^: of fine colts or fillys, haveing had (as his posterity still retain) a good breed of that sort and other Catall: he is mentioned p. 54 as planted at Derrybrosk aforsaid.

S^r^ Ja Montg. when he courted his 2^d^ lady (Margarit s^d^ W^m^ Cole's daughter) stayd severall nights in this Hugh's house, and y^e^ morning he was Bridegroom, went from thence, being attended by him and many Montg: (his tenents all well mounted), of wh^ch^: surname I saw neare one hundred liveing within the 12 tates of Derrybrosk (the s^d^ M^r^. Nich. his land from y^e^ church) when I was there looking for a troublesom reprizall.

Our present Hugh afores^d^ is marryed to a beautifull granddaughter and heiress to S^r^ Ja. Dumbar, and his estate, whereof Derrygonnelly is y^e^ chief mansion place, besides wh^ch^: he hath his father's and his own purchases.

I was in A° 1696 three nights in his new house (for y^r^ old walls are not rebuilt); it is a pleasant seate, a River running by it, within half a muskett shott, and thereon a corn and a tuck mill, to wh^ch^: one may walk dry in slippers; he hath a pretty garden, and a plantation of fruite trees, there is also a prety little chappel opposit to the house door about nine score yards from it (to wh^ch^: one may goe dry in like maner) built and endowed by S^r^ Jo Dumbarr aforesaid for a deacon to read prayers, homilys, or preach in, when the weather is badd.

I saw a rarity at that house, to wit, a two edged sword of excellent metall, (wh^ch^ this Hugh never caused to be made) but had it (I have forgott what he told mee thereof) in y^e^ late warr about Enniskillen. I am of y^r^ opinion there is no smith in Ireland can forge so good a blade: for I saw it severly tryed.

The sword is inscribed on y^e^ right hand side of y^e^ blade thus :

Robertus Bruschius Scotorum Rex } 1310, and on y^e^ revers side { Pro Christo et Patria } D: ER

There are some obliterated or worn-out words supposed to bee y^e^ cutler's name, the letters being seen by halfs and quarters whereof wee could make nothing.

This reciteall minds me that Speed's history says of the Great Talbot's Sword, found in Godwin's Sands (as I now think), whereon was written by aqua fortis (scarce known in those days) these words, viz :

Sum Talboti ensis pro vincere Inimicos suos.

Now if this blade were good and trenchant, yet this Latin was bad and blunt enough.

But to return to this Cap^t^ Hugh himself, his wife and children (whom I saw in his s^d^ new home A° 1696) they are all comely and well favoured, and live in a good plentifull condition ; and so I wish they may continue without occasion to use y^e^ royall blade, unless the Queen or Lord Liev^t^ please to kn^t^ him with it.

This Cap^t^ Hugh's estate at present pays him above three hundred pounds per annum, and is an half a winter day's jorny to Sir Thomas Montgomery's lands and habitation in the County of Letrim.

I hop he hath my picture wh^ch^ : I bestowd him, and for wh^ch^ : I paid twenty dollars to Collonel Roseworm an Hungarian, and wh^ch^ : I delivered unto Rob^t^ Hamill to be carefully sent to him at Derrygonnelly.

In y^e^ next place there is James Montgomery of Lisduff a stout yonge man, he was born in Rosemount, his mother being my deare wive's gentlewoman when she marryed his father whose name was Hugh, but because there be many Montgomerys of that name, he was commonly called (for distinction sake) Grave Maurice in reguard his father was an officer under a Prince of that name beyond our Seas.

This Hugh was one of the Duke of Ormond's troop of hors guards, and getting no command in y^e^ army (as courage deserves to be encouraged) becaus he had no mony to purchase a Comission ; he therefore (being marryed) betook himself to Lisduff afores^d^ (one of the fower Cartrons and an half in Longford, wh^ch^ : he had in satisfaction of his father's and Lieu^t^ Coll : Hugh Montgomery's services in Irel^d^ before June 1649, the same being ultra reprizes worth thirty two pounds per annum.

He lived there within three miles of Longford town ; his wife and children were barbarously abused by y^e^ Irish in K: James his time, because himself was very active ag^t^ them : he died about y^e^ sixty third yeare of his Age, and left fower Sons and three daughters, and his widdow, who and her first fower children may tell of their shelter and maintenance they had at first in Rosemount, and other kindnesses I did to him and them, in passing the lands in my Pattent and getting him pos-

session gratis, and imploying him as my Agent in that contry, and being surety for him etc. for wh$^{ch}$: I have had but ungratefull returns, but I leave y$^{e}$ said widdow and her children in God's good hands, and wish prosperity to all of them that are alive.

The two last familys furnished mee with small matter of discourse, but to supply this defect they are desired (to the honor of their Surname and extraction) to doe wortyhily and to add the relation thereof to the coppy of this Account (wh$^{ch}$: to transcribe will not be denyd them), and the same will be an appendix and supplement to what I have so briefly written, because of our liveing so farr distant from one another, that I am the less informed in their concerns.

But there are Montgomerys of greater name and fame for warlick feats than those two, and some others before named; to these gentlemen I am a stranger, and therefore will speak of them by hearesay from worthy men, onely.

They are grand children of M$^{r}$ Alexander Montgomery, prebend of Do in y$^{e}$ County of Donnegall, who (when debarred by y$^{e}$ Presbiterians to use the Word) took the Sword, and valiantly weilded the same ag$^{t}$ the Irish, and he gott a command (as M$^{r}$ Nicholas did) in wh$^{ch}$: he served divers yeares in y$^{e}$ begining of y$^{e}$ Grand Rebellion in Ireland, and never turned taile on y$^{e}$ King's cause, nor was Covenanter, so he well deserved y$^{e}$ Satisfaction wh$^{ch}$: his posterity has for his s$^{d}$ services before June 1649. This M$^{r}$ Alex$^{r}$ is mentioned in Bp: Geo. Montgomery's life, page 55, and here follows his Epitaph lately given mee by M$^{r}$ Alex$^{r}$ M$^{c}$Causland.

Now hee to Nature his last debt bequeaths
who, in his life, charged through a thousand Deaths.
One man y have seldom seen on Stage to doe
the Parts of Samwell and of Sampson too;
fitt to convince or hew an Agag down,
fierce in his arms and Priestlike in his gown.
These characters were due as all may see
to our Divine and brave Montgomery.
Now judge with what a Courage will he rise
when the last trumpet sounds y$^{e}$ great Assize.
(And for y$^{e}$ grave stone:)
By what here underlys you may conclude
whatere he bee, how either great or good:
Nor might nor meekness can from death secure us,
here lys a Parson utriusque Juris.

The s$^{d}$ M$^{r}$ Alex$^{rs}$ Son, Major John Montgomery, joyned himself to our third Vise$^{ts}$ party, and was taken by y$^{e}$ usurper's soldiers, whose officers had ordered him to be putt to death, and he had

been executed, had not the two Ladys Montgomerys their request intervened. I have seen Mr Alexr Montgomery at Letterkenny, not far from Do, in Ao 1643, and heard men talk much to his credit for his valourous actions agt the Irish Rebells.

The first of his Grandsons was named John, and was a Major of Dragoons in Coll Robt Echlin's regiment. I saw him in October, 1696, in Dublin: he was a taal propper person: as comely wthall as one shall see in a summers' day. He was lately marryed to ye Lady Moor (a great fortune) in Mounster, but he died soon after, and left males and femals children by his first wife.

Alexr ye 2d Grandson was and is still a Capt in ye sd Regimt (now Ao 1704 a Major) becaus it was not reduced: He marryed Capt Coles (in ye county of Monaghan) his daughter and heiress, and now lives within two miles of Monaghan town, and hath a son; this gentln hath a good estate and is a thriveing man and a great tenant to ye present Duke of Ormond.

Robt ye youngest brother is still a Cornet in ye same Regimt and may get a good fortune in warr or peace if he live.

These three brothers are grand nephews to ye late Sr Albert Coningham, as also their Coll. Echlin is his next nephew, who being Lt Coll at his unkle's death gott ye Regimt for his remarkable speakeing and acting at ye fight of ye Boyne; for King William bid him stay on ye ground he was in till he should come again, and Coll Echlin answered, yor Majty shall find me here alive or dead; and by going over to ye K. when prince, and by comeing with him from Holland into England.

There are other Montgomerys, gentln of less account than the three last mentioned familys, and are men haveing fee farm Estates, greater than many (now eminent) men had to beginn the world with, and therefore they are not to be neglected or forgotten.

The first whch: I shall name was Mr Hugh Montgomery of Newtoun in ye Ards, he was Seneschall of all our second and third Viscount's Courts, one of whose daughters was marryed to Mr James Montgomery curat of Gray abby (mentioned in the memoires of his Son) as his 2d wife. The sd Seneschall his eldest son Hugh dyed unmarryed, being an officer under our 3d Visct, and taken prisoner (at ye defeat his Lor had at Lisnestrean Ao 1649): he was (contrary to Laws of warr) shott by order and thrown into a sawing pitt, I know ye place where his bones yet ly.

The sd Seneschall his other son David left his freeholds in Newton aforesd, being by his mother (Jean Herriott) neare kinsman to ye first Lord Glenawly, and setled himself and family in his lor's: Estate, in or about Ballygaly in ye County of Tireowen, and when ye sd Lord and his issue male dyed, the sd David went to Carolina (as his sister says) but what is become of him, or his children (not haveing heard of them these many yeares) I know not.

Item Sr James Montgomery returning from his travells thro' Holland, brought with him one Hugh Montgomery, the son of a Montgomery in Scotland, who (on an assault made upon him in Irwin by the Coninghams when the fewd was between those two Sirnames) was left for dead on

y^e^ street (having rec^d^ 17 or 18 wounds, and therefore called ill-slain Hugh). This Hugh, y^e^ son of him first named, being in Holland desolate of employment, addressed himself to the said S^r^ James Montgomery, and was entertained of him, and brought thro' England to Ireland, and by him was preferred to our 2^d^ Visc^t^ as his Master of y^e^ household: he being an acute, knowing man, and well bred, and afterwards, by y^e^ s^d^ Visc^ts^ and y^e^ s^d^ S^r^ James's means, was marryed to a rich widdow in Newton affors^d^, and her beneficiall leases were made fee farms as freeholds for his sake, to be and in ure to their children, of wh^ch^: widdow he had one son named James, who was a Marinner, who gott about five hunder acres in Jamica (as his plantation) called the Blew Point, but he dying unmarryed the right thereof came to y^e^ children of y^e^ s^d^ Hugh by Eliz: Graham his 2^d^ wife (sister of W^m^ Shaw of Newton his first wife) by whom he had three sons and a daughter, the first whereof was

Hugh, a thriveing attorny, employed by all our familys, till on his Client M^r^ Curry of ——— in Fermanagh his account hee was killed in a duell by one M^r^ Cole.

Item he had a 2^d^ Son, called William (being bred an attorney under his brother Hugh) dyed under the phisitian's hands.

Item he had Rob^t^ 1701, now liveing, who enjoys the said freehold, and is still unmarryed.

The s^d^ first named Hugh (father of these three last named) was many years Provest of Newton afores^d^; had a brother named John, who was a rich merch^t^, till in y^e^ Grand Rebellion time 1642, a great cargo of meale was taken from him by y^e^ Scotish Army, on y^e^ publique faith, for which he was never paid.

The s^d^ John's Son, Hugh, enjoyed his possessions in and about Newton: and was many yeares Provest of that town, but he dyed of a long distemper of y^e^ Gout A° 1699, and left his freeholds to his son Hugh, bred an apothecary (wh^ch^ trade he left off), and is now dead, afore May 1702, and hath left a widdow with children of both sorts.

The s^d^ John had another son named Alexander, an hatter, who was well marryed in Belfast, and is now dead, haveing left children.

Item, W^m^ Montgomery of Ballyskeogh (a gentl^n^ of better acc^t^ than those two last named brothers) had two sonns, viz: W^m^ his eldest, who marryed his cozen, the Laird of Langshaw's sister; he died in Scotland where his offspring (men and woemen) now reside.

Item, he had Hugh (now liveing) a merchant in Belfast, who hath two sonns, viz: William a Master Mariner, well marryed in Dublin. The other is named James, an officer in the Queen's Navy but unmarryed.

Divers other Montgomerys, with their familys and stocks, are come out of Scotland, since A° 1692, and have taken farms in Ireland, of whom I can give no certain accounts; and therefore I

here end my storyes of that S^name: of wh^ch there bee many rich yoemen whom I doe not know, and therefore turn my pen to other Subjects, as imprimis of Learning.[a]

## Of Learning.

I hope the foregoing and subsequent Remarks will not be called Reflections (as the word is understood for a noteing or taxing of faults). I intended no such thing ag^t any particular Man, much less towards those Montgomerys I writ of, but gen^lly I have touched at and told you my meditations on some facts of y^e Usurpers (as I am priviledged therein) because loosers have leave to talk.

And tho' I have observed in y^e family of y^e Great Ards and their Cognations (from y^e first to y^e last now liveing) that none of them was learned like our Bp: Geo. (as learning is commonly esteemed) for skill in Latin, Greek, and y^e ancient Oriental tongues, so as to make them Bps: Secular Judges, or Phisicians, yet I may say for some of them that they did not read to these purposes, to gain fortunes thereby, because they thought themselves sufficiently provided for as to estates. And indeed ever after A° 1641, the Times agreed not to encourage men to studdy these Professions: the use of y^e Sword and y^e Gun was with less Labour (tho with more dispised Hazard) acquired (and without book too) sooner than those Linguas, wh^ch fitt only churchmen best to interpret and vindicate (from Hereticall Glosses) the volumes of Sacred Scriptures. And it must be confessed that ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius: wh^ch in y^e Scotts Proverbs is as much as, Spade Shafts beares no Plumbs.

Yet it cannot be denyed (but allowed) that each of our Family were bred at Latin Schools, and that all of them had (till some lost it by neglect, thinking it useless) a competency of Latin, and S^r J. M. took degree of M^r in the Liberal Arts in S^t Saviour's Colledge in S^t Andrews, but this was in times of profound Peace, when Gown-men were in fashion.

However, there might be others, and but some few such learned men w^th a great skill in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew: yet I cannot see any absolute necessity for any Person (other than those intended for Clergymen) to disturb his braines, or trouble themselves (so long as they doo) with obsolet words, or with nouns, participles, &c. genders, cases, moodes, etc. (that are commonly forgotten) wh^ch at y^e begining to learn them, puzles and confounds children's notions, loads their

[a] Although that portion of the Montgomery MSS. here edited which is genealogical and historical properly ends here, what follows, written in the same hand, and evidently of the same authorship, is so characteristic as well of the writer as of his time that it was thought proper to append it. With some of the remarks of W. M. respecting "Pedantick Learning," as well as those which advocate an infusion of modern instruction into the ordinary school curriculum of the "rising generation," possibly a good many readers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* will agree. There is much good practical sense in these observations, which anticipate some of the educational improvements and appliances of our own day. On these and other accounts, it was thought that the entire essay "*Of Learning*" would form a characteristic as well as suitable close to the manuscript remains here printed.

memories, and tires them unto a disgust of all such readings. For I call him a Learned man (in this or that science, civil or military) who hath most knowledge therein, how ever he come by it, and this may be, and was, had by divers of our family (they gaining the French, Dutch, or Italian) another way, and in their own mother tongue, (in which last the Ancients wrote those books for wh$^{ch}$ they are now so much revered,) and I cannot see why those Latin authors should be taught every where (as they are) without any great profit (or rather to the prejudice of those who handle such books), for those heathen writers, especially y$^{e}$ Poets, gen$^{lly}$ doo not benefit y$^{e}$ minds and memorys of Christian youth, but hurt them, by takeing up room therein, and by looseing their time in such studys; whereas they might be better furnished, for the Latin, with Treatises like M$^{r}$ Alex$^{r}$ Ross his Virgilium Evangelizans, Buchanan or Johnston's versions of K. David's Psalms, Cowley's Davideis, etc.

For I observed in Holland, that Parents put not their Sonns to Latin schools, except 'tis found (upon tryal) that they are apt and desirous to learn it. And indeed it's necessary for Clergymen, Travellers, and Trafiquers, in Christendome (as y$^{e}$ Dutch are) to attaine a little congruous Latin: for wh$^{ch}$ purpose, if they find them apt and docile, they send such children (as soon as they have acquired y$^{e}$ knowledge of y$^{e}$ alphabetts, and can read their horn-books) I say they put them to y$^{e}$ Latin or French schoole to learn to read these Linguas and to write fair orthography; the one being a recreation after the toile of the other: wh$^{ch}$ enables them to be Merch$^{ts}$ (or Factors rather) Divines, Physitians, and Travellers; so thus y$^{r}$ time is saved wh$^{ch}$ would be spent in learning to reade their own Dutch Tongue.

I am also of opinion that had wee English schools and Academys (as in France they have in their own Speech) to teach Rhetorick, Oratory, Logick, Physicks (or natural philosophy), and Metaphysicks, Medicin, Navigation, Merchandiseing, and the Mathematicks, &c., and for y$^{e}$ Military Art and Disciplin, and (for intermediall recreations) Fencing, Dancing, Carveing, Rideing, &c.: then our Gentry and Noblemen's sonns would so (w$^{th}$ greater delight and study, and with less expense of time and mony) become knowing (ergo learned) men; for Lords and Lozells would betake themselves respectively to learn what was most propper or liked them best, and thus w$^{th}$ ease improve their natural Talents.

For we see there are English bookes of all Arts and Sciences (originall or Translations) much more correct and improved than the writeings of former ages. So that Teachers are only wanting, and these may be had at the same sallarys wh$^{ch}$ retain masters in the County schooles, or other schooles endowed by noblemen for Encouragement of builders in a new laid out town: wh$^{ch}$ masters, nevertheless, ought (and may) be able to teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to those who have Braines, Leizure, Sedulity, and Money, to travell that toilesome, tedious roade about y$^{e}$ bush, to gaine a frothy admiration; whereas Understanding and Knowledge are the same in every Contray or Language, and doth not consist in learning sundry Alphabets or Lett$^{rs}$ (wh$^{ch}$ (as I said) is pro-

perest for Clergymen and Travellers;) for many Persons (especially young Princes) without Gramar, learn Latin, as also the French and Dutch Speeches, and y^e^ Sciences, by the sole Conversation of Tutors; the natures of men, born and bred high, (least of all and) scarcely endureing the Fatigue, Confinem^t^, and Bondage of a gramar school, to be cloggd with the hard words of Participles, Gerunds, Pronouns, Interjections, Genders, Tenses, Moodes, and such like designations, unintelligible to many Masters themselves, and wh^ch^ are very burdensome to y^e^ memory, by reason of y^e^ intricasy of their definitions, wh^ch^ at y^e^ very first tryalls seem insuperable to children's capacitys: it being implanted in the natures of all mankind to affect and endeavor Liberty and Ease.

Now, haveing taken this liberty to descant a litle upon Pedantick Learning, you may read (if you please) some of my thoughts concerning Poesy. I have heard told for an old Roman adage, Nascuntur poetæ, fiunt oratores. Yet the former wants Art to methodise and polish them, as well as y^e^ latter. It is said that y^e^ word ποιεσις is derived from ποιειν wh^ch^ signifys makeing and fiction, as well Invention as writeing Verses, wh^ch^ are contrived in severall shaps and formes as statues are carved.

Rime and Meetre, from y^e^ Greek *rithmos* and *metron* signefy admeasurem^t^, and are two words for that one of Poesy, and doe not import Lines or Sentences wh^ch^ chime (sounding alike at the ends of them), for then wee should find no Latin or Greek Poesy except what y^e^ Monasticks affoord us, or their few apish imitators. But these ariginal derivative Nouns denote that verses should have certain feet: some have three measures, wh^ch^ are six feet, called *trimetron;* some fower measures, named *tetrametron;* some five, named Pentameters, some six, called Hexameters, &c., hence verses are in generall called Numbers, because the severall sorts of them are scanned, reconed, and denominated from y^e^ number of their feet, wh^ch^ feet are words consisting of one or more syllables of different extent, (called quantitys,) in pronounceing some long and others short: But I designe not here to discover the Poeticall Art, haveing said more thereof els where: but certainly I may conclude (according to my observation) that those Persons who are naturally enclined thereunto have more elevated and refined mindes than those whose thoughts grovell on gaining earthly things: and so, for y^e^ most part, Poets miss those left hand blessings. But it holds not that Poets must therefore be neglecters of Estates, for Poesy may be used as a Recreation, and is a pollisher of speech, and not bee the employm^t^ of Life.

I shall therefore mention onely a few of our Family who were endowed with that Accomplishment.

Imprimis, Cap^tn^ Alex^r^ Montgomery, mother brother to our 6^t^ Laird.

This Gentleman was an excellent Poet, witness his Poesy called *the Cherry and the Slae* (that Magazine of pithy witt) and his set matches of flyteing in verse (ag^t^ the Laird of Polwart) before King James the 6^t^ and his Scotish Court) out of wh^ch^ two Poems of fower sheets The Advocates in Edinbrugh take many Oratorious and Satyricall Apothegms. Also his *Dumb Solsequium*

and his *Confessions of a Sinner* (entituled his *Lamentation*) haveing for a Chorus (as it were at y^e^ end of every Stanza these words) viz. Peccavi Pater! miserere mei. Then you may reade his *Non ardes ad Deum converti*, it being his morning Muse; and also see his *Declina a malo et fac bonum*: wh^ch^ smal remainders of his elegant writeings have had (as I verily believe) above a thousand impressions in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen (if all together be recorded), and will never faile to be reprinted againe and againe in Scotland. I doe not think they have yet been outdone, tho' paralleled. The first named of them is lyricall, and is sung to an harmonious musicall tune, and were turned into Latin verses, with the same number of feet and unisons as in the Original; a stupendious work indeed fitt for the acute witts of that Scottish friary (beyond our Seas) wh^ch^ undertook it.[b]

[b] The poetical writings of Capt. Alex. Montgomery have now become so rare that the early editions may be considered as nearly extinct. They are mentioned by Lowndes as published in quarto at Edinburgh in 1597, and again in 1615 at the same place, as also 1675; and at Aberdeen in 1645. Lowndes also states that a copy was marked in a bookseller's (then) recent catalogue (1834), at £15 15s. This was the earliest Edinburgh edition. Editions were published at Glasgow in 1751, 1754, and 1768, and the "*Cherrie and the Slae*," was translated into Latin, and published on the Continent as well as at Edinburgh in 1631 and 1696, with the following title:—"Cerasum et Sylvestre Prunum, in Latinos versus translatum per T. D. S. P. M. B. P. P. (Thomam Dempsterum, Scotum, &c.) Arctauni Franeorum, Typis Fleischmannicis, (1631).

The encomiums, therefore, of W. M. on "our Gt Laird," appear to have been well merited. An imperfect copy of the "*Cherrie and the Slae*," apparently one of the Glasgow editions of the last century, is in the writer's possession. As this poem is now so little known, it may not be unacceptable to the readers of this *Journal* to see a specimen of it; and the first and second stanzas, (which are among the best, in point of poetical merit,) are accordingly given below:—

About a Bank of balmy Bews
Where Nightingales their Notes renews
With gallant Goldspinks gay;
The Mavis, Merl, and Progne proud,
The Lintwhite, Lark, and Laverock loud
Saluted mirthful May.
When Philomel had sweetly sung
To Progne she deplored
How Tereus cut out her Tongue
And fidsely her deflored.

Which story so sorry
To show asham'd she seem'd
To hear her, so near her,
I doubted if I dreamed.

The Cushat crouds, the Corbie cries,
The Cuckow couks, the pratling Pyes
To geck her they begin.
The Jargoun, or the janglin Jays,
The craiking Craws, the kekling Kays
They deav'd me with their din.
The painted Pown with Argos eyes
Can on his Mayeock call,
The Turtle wails on withered trees,
And Echo answer'd all.
Repeating, with grieting,
How fair Narcissus fell,
By lying and spying
His shadow in the well.

The fragment of Capt. Alex. Montgomery's poems, whence the above has been extracted, contains also his *Lamentation*. This poem contains nine stanzas, and is possessed of considerable merit. Each stanza, except two, concludes with a refrain in Latin, thus:

"*Peccavi, Pater, miserere mei.*"

and as a fair specimen of the entire, the fifth is here given:—

O gracious God, my Guiltiness forgive,
In Sinners Death since thou dost not delight;
But rather would they should convert and live,
As witnesseth Prophets in holy Writ:
I pray thee, Lord, thy Promise to perfite
In me that I might with the Psalmist say,
I will thy praise and wondrous works unite
Therefore, Father, be merciful to me.

Item, the s^d^ 6^t^ Laird made most apposit application of Poesy (Latin and English) in discours as afores^d^, so that it may be believed, he at least understood poesy well, and it is probable he composed verses of his own. As for his Eldest Son, our 2^d^ Visc^t^, I never saw him, nor have any of his papers, but he being an exactly bred courtier and of ready witt, we may presume he was not altogether out of that mode wh^ch^ was in vogue in his days. Then for our s^d^ Laird's 2^d^ Son, S^r^ J. Montg: I have not only his philosophical and mathematicall writeings, but his Poeticall also, on wh^ch^ last . . . . . and I will leave them . . . . . son who is a competent Judge of verses.

L^d^ W^m^ Alex^r^, Earl of Staiveling was and is (tho' dead) a famous speaking Poet, as witnesseth his Volume folio in Heroicks, Lyricks, and Pindaricks, (and was also an aquireing able statesman, purchaseing honor and lands) wh^ch^ writeings he stiles Recreations w^th^ y^e^ Muses, for so they should be and not works, as Ben Johnston called his Plays.

He also paraphrased the Psalter (whereof K. Ja: the First had turned some Psalms) and the book was sett forth in print, under the title of the Psalms of King David translated by King James: who intended to have them sung in Churches; but y^e^ English B^ps^: diverted the designe, telling his Maj^ty^ y^t^ y^e^ people had most of y^e^ present psalms by heart, and would be loath to buy or learn this his new book, and besides y^e^ Papists now accuse y^e^ old as faulty, because laid aside, and tax his Maj^ty^ as an Innovator.

This s^d^ Earle's eldest daughter (our 2^d^ Viscountess) composed good godly verses, and her eldest son, our 3^d^ Visc^t^, was an accurate Poet. I have seen only a few coppys of his makeing, and I have one of them, wh^ch^ was an Elegy made on y^e^ death of his first Lady aforenamed, and his brother James did make witt drolling Rimes, as hath been afores^d^; and this Earl is excellent at Poesy, and is a great Judge of such like Pieces: but his Lo^p^ hath laid y^m^ aside, and his modesty conceals what he hath done.

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[Since the preceding portion of the recovered MS. was transcribed for printing, a copy of a letter from the author of these documents, now in possession of Col. Montgomery, (Rosemount, Greyabbey,) has been obligingly transmitted to the editor of this *Journal*. The letter is so evidently genuine, as well as calculated to interest, that it is here printed, it is believed for the first time.]

"Rosemount this 16th Nov^r^ 1701.

"Worthy Cossen,

What follows, transcribed by Mr. Robert Watson from my originall, and now attested by my subscription, must be supplied by your inserting the dates of your Deeds and with what other Memoires you have of your Family; but put the same in a paper by itself, that they may be added by the same hand to this now sent you: when you return it to me for that effect, I shall add them to my originall; and when you have all again, you may preserve them to be left to your

posterity as a token of my love to you and them, and as a vindication of me if I shall be aspersed to have written any otherwise of you or your ancestors. I give my respects and service to you and your spouse, and remain, Your affectionat Cossen.

WILL: MONTGOMERY.

For Mr. Wm. Montgomery of Grandsheogh,
living at Maghera in the County of Derry,
These.

P.S.—I would have your son take notice that our Sirname in the Patents of our Family, and in the Acts of Parliament both of England and Ireland, and in all printed books, historys, and others in our Three Kingdoms, which I can shew you, is spelled as I subscribe it, as divers gent" of estate do, and as the Count Montgomery in Normandy did and yet doth, as I have prooved in a paper I wrote to that purpose and concerning the rectifying of subscriptions of Sirnames, of which many persons have heedlessly taken upon custom to write them the wrong way, which imports an ignorance occasioned by carelessness."

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"Yett the other Cadett's genealogy is more certain of whom I am now to write, viz: John Montgomery of in Scotland, who of Grandsheogh was assistant in the Plantation under the first Viscount, the fourth Laird of Braidstane, called Adam, the first being grandfather of them both, which relation is called Oys in Scotland. John had the Townland of Grandsheogh, in Donaghadee parish, given him in fee-farm at a small chief-rent, by the said Viscount, when he was Sir Hugh Montgomery, as appears by the Deed dated day of A° 16——. The said John was murdered in his house there, which was broken into and rifled in the night by the Irish wood-kerns, we now call Irish robbers,—if on foot, Tory's, if on horse-back, Rapparees; and his son Hugh left as dead of his many wounds by their skeins, but he crawled out when the Irish were gone with their plunder, and was by the neighbourhood found in a bush, for they had taken the alarm from some one servant that had escaped while the father and son in their shirts were fighting against the Irish and their half-pikes. They murdered the said John's wife also, and the rest of the servants. Hugh being so found was carefully tended by a servant, and recovered. I knew the gentleman very well in his old age, and had many of the following memories from him. He died of a great age, and with his father John is buried in Donaghadee church.

This wounded gentleman's second son, named John, was Master of Escury to the Earl of Donegall: he married creditably, and had several children of both kinds.

The said gentleman's eldest son, Hugh, succeeded him in the free-hold, and was chief servant in our second Viscount's family; and he came to be in the Grand Rebellion time advanced by Sir James Montgomery to be a Captain in his regiment, and also by his procurement was made Major of Foot under Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaught, and did good services against the Irish, whose cruelty aforesaid was not forgotten. This Major married in a good family of the

M^cClelland's, and had several daughters whom he matched well, and left but one son, named William, who with his wife, Mary, eldest daughter of Capt. James Magill aforesaid, are yett living; and he had issue Lucy, who is lately dead unmarried, and a son named William, now viz. A° D^ni 1701, in the Colledge of Dublin at his studys. This William succeeded his father the Major in the lands of Grandsheogh, and to a B^p's lease of Maghera in the Diocese of Derry, where he and Mary his wife now dwell, and hath the great Townland of Ballyhanwood and the quarter of Gort-grib near Belfast in right of his wife, as a purchase made by her said father, besides a lease of some lands near Grandsheogh from our second Earl, dated the day of Anno D^ni 16——.

This William, like his father the said Major, well understands and keeps a good breed of horses, and is one of the Corporation of Horse-breeders aforesaid. I gave to the said Major, fairly depicted, and also to his son, the said William, their true Coat of Arms, which was and is now the same which the said Sir Hugh Montgomery when Laird of Braidstane bore, viz: party per pale azure and gules three flowers de lice in chief, and three annulettes set with Turquoises in base; over them a lance and a sword salterwise; all the charge being Or except the Turquoises and the blade of the sword which are proper, with a Crescent argent as the distinction of second brother as followeth; the very same shield and charge Bishop Geo. Montgomery, brother of the said Sir Hugh, did seal with, and the like is now over the gate-house window in Newtown. I could not learn from young Langshaw, though I spake to him twice in Ireland and wrote to him when he was in Scotland, either what the bearings of that family, or Hazilhead's, or of the house of Giffen were; nor hath he informed me what any of them have for their crests; but the Coat of Arms of yours hath an armed hand holding a flower-de-lice Or. As for the Motto of these Arms, it must have been the same with the Earl of Eglinton's, viz. *Gaurde Bien*, because our Montgomerys were from that family, unless Sir Hugh took another Diton of which I know not: but now Sir Hugh's posterity, and none else, may pretend to carry the Arms and use the Motto of the Lord Viscounts of Ards, both which were altered when they were first nobilitated.

WILL: MONTGOMERY."

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The writer of the present notice cannot conclude without reiterating the wish, in which he is persuaded many others will join, that the entire of the Montgomery MSS. extant, with the portion here edited, and such additions as might be still recovered by inquiry and the investigation of existing family records, were reprinted, with such annotations as might be thought necessary to elucidate the whole. It is not, perhaps, venturing too large an assertion to add, that few more acceptable or important contributions to the history of the North of Ireland, during a very eventful period, could be given to the public of Ulster. W. MAC I.

[The following particulars communicated by a literary gentleman in Normandy (Professor Le Hericher of the College of Avranches), will form a suitable sequel to the preceding article.—"The first historical personage of the family of Monte Gommerie was Roger, Count of Montgommery, (an earldom in the diocese of Lisieux,) who was the son of Hugue de Montgommery and of Josseline daughter of Iurolf de Pontaudemer by Neva sister to Gonnor, duchess of Normandy, and grandmother to William the Conqueror. Roger accompanied his illustrious kinsman to England, and commanded a division of the army at the battle of Hastings. William rewarded him with the earldoms of Shrewsbury, Arundel, and Chichester. The son of Roger signed himself "Ego Rogerius ex Northmannis Northmannus, magni autem Rogerii filius" [Charter of Troarn]; from which we can see that if the language of the Scandinavians was then forgotten in Normandy, the pride of the race was not. The branches of the Montgommery family in Scotland and Ireland had for their founder the Roger before-named. Arnold, Earl of Pembroke, one of his sons, married Lafracotte and originated the branches of Egland, Stair, Lanisham, and Eglintoun. This family also allied itself by the female side with the royal family of the Stuarts. Alexander de Montgommery, lord of Ardrossan and Eglintoun, was cousin of James I. king of Scotland. From this nobleman descended Robert de Montgommery, father of Jacques, who was celebrated under the name of "Capitaine de Lorges" (a fief in Normandy). In 1560 this Jacques died in the service of Francis I., king of France. His son Gabriel I., who became "the great" Montgommery, and who was the person who mortally wounded king Henry II. succeeded to the estates of his five brothers and sisters. He married Isabeau de la Teral, Lady of Lucey, and through her became Seigneur of Lucey and of several parishes in the Avranchin, in Normandy. The family Chateau (still known as the Chateau de Montgommery, but now unoccupied and going to ruin) is situated at Lucey, about three leagues from the town of Avranches. The present building is, however, comparatively modern, having been built about the year 1620, by Gabriel II., son of the great Montgommery. The ancient castle of the family stood at a short distance from it on a cliff overhanging the river Selune." Full details are given respecting both the castles in a work by Professor Le Hericher, entitled *Avranchin Monumental et Historique*.—Edit.]

# ANCIENT LEATHER CLOAK.

The bogs of Ireland, which form so remarkable a feature in the physical geography of the country, have preserved to us numerous relics of former times in a more perfect state than perhaps would have been possible by any artificial means. The soft and yielding nature of the peat, and its uniform pressure, prevented any injury to fragile objects imbedded in it; while the peculiar antiseptic property possessed by bog-water (communicated by the *tannin* of the numerous roots and fibres which form the peat), exercised a strong conservative power on any objects formed of wood or animal substance exposed to its influence. Most of our best specimens of gold, silver, and bronze antiquities have been discovered in bogs at greater or less depths; and when wooden articles have been found, they have generally been in good condition, although subsequent exposure to the air has caused them to shrink and lose much of their original form. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that very few examples of ancient *dress* have yet been discovered in the bogs of Ireland, since there is every reason to believe that in such a situation its material would be equally well preserved. Two or three human bodies are recorded to have been found in bogs, during the last century, enveloped in their clothing; but these have been allowed, by neglect, to become so far destroyed as to afford little information on the subject of ancient costume; and up to the present time no data exist for determining precisely what were the articles of dress used in Ireland at an early period, or what were their different forms. The rapid changes, however, which are now going on over the entire surface of the country, in consequence of the draining and gradual cultivation of large tracts of bog, will no doubt afford opportunities of recovering some specimens illustrative of this department of national antiquities. A greater number of intelligent observers, also, are on the watch for such discoveries, and objects of the kind are more likely than formerly to be noticed as interesting, and preserved from destruction. One instance of this I have now the pleasure of recording, namely, the discovery for the first time of a genuine ancient Irish leather cloak, or outward covering, by whatever name it may be called.

In nearly all the early descriptions of Ireland by foreign writers, the "Irish mantle" is constantly mentioned as the peculiar feature of the native costume. Spencer, who wrote in 1596, describes it as in general use even at that time. In Dineley's account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II. (about 1675), he says:—"The women never at anytime use hats after the manner of the vulgar English, but cover and defend their heads from rain with a mantle, as also from the heat of the sunne; to which Spanish lazy use the Irish men apply their cloaks."[a] Speed, who wrote in 1610, says of the Irish:—"The men wore linen shirts exceedingly large, stained

[a] Published in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, New Series, vol. i.

with saffron, the sleeves wide and hanging to their knees, strait and short trusses plaited thick in the skirts, their breeches close to their thighs, a short *skein* hanging point down before, and a mantle most time cast over their heads." Accompanying one of his maps he gives representations of a "wilde Irishman" and a "wilde Irish woman," in which the cloak forms a prominent part of the costume. [See Plate in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol i, page 120]. None of these writers, however, give so graphic a description of the dress of the Irish as old Philemon Holland in his translation of Camden [1610]:—"They goe for the most part (he says) bare-headed, unless it bee when they put on a head-piece. The haire of their head they weare long, and nothing set they greater store by than the glibbes or tresses of their haires: and to have the same plucked or twitched, they take it for a contumelious indignitie. They use linnen shirts, and those verily exceedingly large, with wide sleeves, and hanging side down to their very knees, which they were wont to staine with saffron. Little jackets they have of woollen, and those very short: breeches most plaine and close to their thighes. But they cast over these their mantles or shagge rugges (which Isidore seemeth to call *Heteromallœ*) with a deep fringed purfle, and the same daintily set out with sundrie colours; within which they lappe themselves in the night, and sweetly sleepe on the very ground."

The Highlanders of Scotland also retained the mantle of their Irish forefathers as a part of their dress. Lindsay of Pitscottie, in his *Chronicle of Scotland*, written about 1573, says:—"The other pairts northerne ar full of montaines, and very rud and homelie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called Reid Schankis or Wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle with ane schirt, fashioned after the Irish manner, going bair legged to the knee." And Polydore Virgil, who wrote in Latin in the time of Henry VII., describes the Scotch Highlanders of his day in almost similar terms:—"The other mountainous and northern portion of the country is inhabited by a race of men extremely hardy and rough, who are called *Sylvestres*. These are clad in a cloak and an inside jerkin, and have the legs bare to the knee."[b] We have a curious additional evidence of this prevailing costume at a much earlier period, from a totally different quarter. The Danes and Norwegians who committed such devastations on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland in the tenth century, seem sometimes to have borrowed the fashions of these countries. Thus in the *Heimskringla*, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, we have the following:—"People say that when king Magnus came home from his Viking cruise to the western countries, he and many of his people brought with them a great deal of the habits and fashion of those parts. They went about the streets with bare legs, and had short kirtles and over cloaks." [Laing's translation vol. iii., p. 139.]

In early Irish writings, cloaks are mentioned under a variety of names, each of which, no

[b] "Alteram aquilonarem ac montosam tenet genus hominum longe durissimum ac asperum, qui sylvestres dicuntur. Hi sago et interiore tunica amicluntur, nudisque genu tenus incedunt."

doubt, denoted in its day, a different form or size of garment; but as hardly any of these names have been preserved in the present spoken language, and as the Irish costume has become completely changed since the time of the English invasion, there is great difficulty in determining what each precisely meant. In the curious document called the *Book of Rights*, which is at least as old as the twelfth century but very probably transcribed from a much older manuscript, and which details minutely all the articles payable as tribute to the different provincial kings, cloaks of various forms and colours are specially mentioned. The names applied to them are *inar*, *brat*, *leann*, *matal*, and *cochull*. Dr. O'Donovan (who edited this tract for the Irish Archæological Society,) translates *inar*, a tunic; M'Curtin, a cloak. Dr. O'Donovan gives no translation of *matal*, but conjectures that it was another name for the *falaing*, which is the name still in common use for a cloak among the Irish-speaking population. *Matal*, however, is clearly not an Irish word, and it occurs very rarely in our MSS. It seems to have escaped the notice of all writers hitherto, that this name occurs in nearly the same form in the Scandinavian Sagas. For example, in A.D. 1126, Snorro mentions Harald Gilli, a Norwegian chief, as clothed "almost in the Irish fashion with a dress extremely short and light," and again, as equipped for running a race, wearing a short cloak [stuttan *möttul*]. I am of opinion that the word is one borrowed by the early Irish writers from the Northmen.

In the ancient Irish Glossary of Cormac (which has recently been published) another name occurs, denoting a cloak of a very peculiar kind; namely *Tugen*, which is defined to be "the mantle of a chief-poet, made of the skins of white and many-coloured birds; up to his girdle of the necks of mallards, and from his girdle to his throat of their tufts." Such a statement might seem almost fabulous; but it is a curious fact that cloaks of a very similar kind are now actually in use in an island at the very opposite extremity of the globe. About twenty years ago, a Belfast gentleman, Mr. Gordon A. Thomson, in the course of his extensive travels, happened to visit the chief island of the Sandwich group, and, as was his custom everywhere, took opportunities of procuring curiosities, many of which he afterwards deposited in the Belfast Museum. It so happened that at the time of his visit the monarch of the Sandwich Islands was involved in a quarrel with the French, who demanded a sum of money as indemnity for some alleged injury, and had laid an embargo on the place. In order to procure the means of satisfying their demand, a variety of valuable articles were offered for sale, and among the rest a very handsome cloak entirely made of *birds' feathers*. This was purchased by Mr. Thomson, and is now in the Museum at Belfast. He procured at the same time specimens of the two kinds of birds from which the feathers were obtained. One is about the size of a sparrow, with scarlet plumage: the other (called the *Moho*) is less than a thrush, and is black, with the exception of about a dozen yellow feathers under the wings; and it is these yellow feathers only which are used in forming the decorations on the scarlet ground of the dress. It can easily be conceived what an enormous number of such birds

was required (probably some thousands) to furnish materials for a large cloak capable of covering the entire person. This dress was worn only by a person of high rank, and its use was *tabooed* to every other.

But whatever uncertainty may exist as to the exact meaning of some of the words above-mentioned as applied to cloaks, there is none regarding that of *cochull*. This was undoubtedly a hood which covered the head and shoulders, probably attached sometimes to a cloak. The word appears to have been common to all the Celtic tribes. It is still preserved in Welsh in the form *cwcwll*, and in Bas-Breton, *kougoul:* in the old Cornish it was *cugel*. In a Latinized shape it became *cucullus* and *cuculla*, and it is still used in English in the two forms, *cowl* and *caul*. In Middle-Age Latin documents it is used to denote a monk's cowl, and is occasionally written *cassula*. Thus an ancient life of St. Kiaran relates that one day, meeting a beggar, he gave him his *cassula* and proceeded in his *pallium* [cloak] to Inis Cathay, when St. Senan meeting him said:—"Is it not a shame for a priest to be walking in a cloak without a cowl? ["Nonne pudor est quod sacerdos in uno pallio sine *cucullo* ambulat?"] The distinction between the cloak and the *cuculla* is noted by an old writer in the following line:—

"Vestis longa tegit corpus, caput ampla *cuculla*."—M. Justinus Lippiensis.

Several early writers on Ireland distinctly mention the custom of wearing a hood. Thus Giraldus Cambrensis, in the 12th century, says the Irish "are in the habit of wearing close *cappuces* which spread over their shoulders and reach down to the elbows." ["Caputiis namque modicis assueti sunt et arctis, trans humeros deorsum, cubito tenus protensis."] Baron Finglass, who wrote in, Henry VIII's time, *A Breviat of the getting of Ireland and of the decaie of the same*, among other recommendations for the improvement of the country suggests, that it shall be enacted "that noe Englishman of the londe weare over-slipp Irish coats and *hood*, on payne of an hundreth shillings *toties quoties*"; which shows that the English settlers themselves had adopted the Irish costume. It may be added as a negative proof that some such mode of covering the head was general in Ireland, that the *Book of Rights* mentions no kind of head-dress except helmets. Spelman in his *Glossary of Barbarous Latin*, explains *coccula* as an Irish cloak of loose woollen texture. ["sagum Hibernicum villosum"]. Except in two instances to be mentioned hereafter, there is no native Irish writer that I am aware of, who speaks of the *cochull* as made of leather or skin. It is not at all remarkable, however, that an outward covering for the head and shoulders such as this should have been made of these materials. Martin, in his description of the Island of St. Kilda, mentions in fact that the dress of the natives "was anciently of sheep-skins, which has been worn by several of the inhabitants now living." [1765] Major, in describing, in 1512, the customs of the Highland clans which had raised the standard of rebellion in 1429 against James I., says:—"The common people of the High-

land Scots rush into battle having their body clothed with a linen garment, manifoldly sewed, and painted or daubed with pitch, with a covering of deer-skin," ["cum cervinæ pellis coopertura."] In the twelfth century the principal men at the Danish court wore sheep-skin dresses[c]. In more ancient times Cæsar describes the Belgic Gauls as wearing, even in the coldest parts of the country, a small leathern mantle called the *rheno*, which left a great part of the body exposed: and Tacitus says the Germans wore the skins of animals. The only two cases in which skin cloaks are specially mentioned in any Irish writings as yet made known, are the following. In the strange old legendary tale called the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, the charioteer of the warrior Cuchullin is described as clothed in a mantle of deer-skin. The other notice occurs in a historic poem descriptive of a memorable event in which the principal performer obtained celebrity from the use of this very article of dress. It is recorded that, in the year 942, an Ulster prince, Muircheartach (or Murtoch) MacNeill, executed a bold *coup d'état* for the purpose of securing his unopposed succession to the throne of Ireland. In the dead of winter, when he knew that his opponents everywhere would be quite unprepared for resistance, he set off from his castle of Ailcach, in the north of Donegall, accompanied by a chosen band of a thousand men, and made the entire circuit of Ireland, exacting hostages from every principal chieftain as he passed. This rapid and unexpected movement, resembling the forced marches of the first Napoleon, was quite successful, and it is said that not a single man was lost in the campaign. As his soldiers were necessarily unprovided with tents or heavy baggage, and were frequently obliged to pass the night in the open air, he took the precaution of furnishing them with *leather cloaks* to protect them from the inclemency of the weather; and from this innovation in military costume he obtained ever after the name of "Murtoch of the Leather Cloaks." A poem minutely describing this curious expedition was written by a bard who accompanied it, and has been published by the Irish Archæological Society, with a translation by the late Dr. O'Donovan. In this narrative the term used to denote these leather cloaks is *cochull craicion*, literally "*skin cochulls*." As they were evidently intended to protect the whole of the person, they were no doubt of much larger dimensions than the *cochull* properly so called, which covered only the head and shoulders; and they must also have been of sufficient thickness to defend the wearer from frost and heavy rain. In several passages in the poem the expression occurs: "Our only shelter was our strong skin cloaks." Dr. O'Donovan therefore suggests with great probability that they were made of cow-hides; and it is likely that the use of this new material, and the enlarged dimensions of the garment, were the innovations or improvements introduced by Muirchertach, and not the actual invention of the skin *cochull*.

The preceding remarks will enable us to determine, with tolerable certainty, the nature of the cloak or dress recently discovered. It is about the size and shape of a modern cape, but considerably more convex. Its depth is twenty-four inches; its width at one edge about thirty-six

[c] Lagerbring Svea Rikes Hist. part ii. p. 88.

inches, and at the other about fifty inches. Each edge is bordered with a strong and neat hem. As regards the material, it is composed of portions of the skin of some animal, covered with a short fur. The first idea of several persons who examined it was that it was deer-skin: but a careful examination by Dr. Wyville Thomson, Professor of Natural History in Queen's College, Belfast, led him to conclude that it is entirely composed of otter-skins. That they were the skins of a small species of animal is highly probable from the insignificant size of all the pieces employed; and, as Dr. Thomson has remarked, otters would seem to have been by no means common, from the care taken in using every fragment of skin. Slips not broader than an inch appear in every part of the cloak, as well as scraps of still smaller size and of the most irregular forms, all most carefully and neatly sewed in their proper position, so as to give the dress a regular shape. The sewing is also done in such a manner, as to allow the fur to present a uniform surface externally.

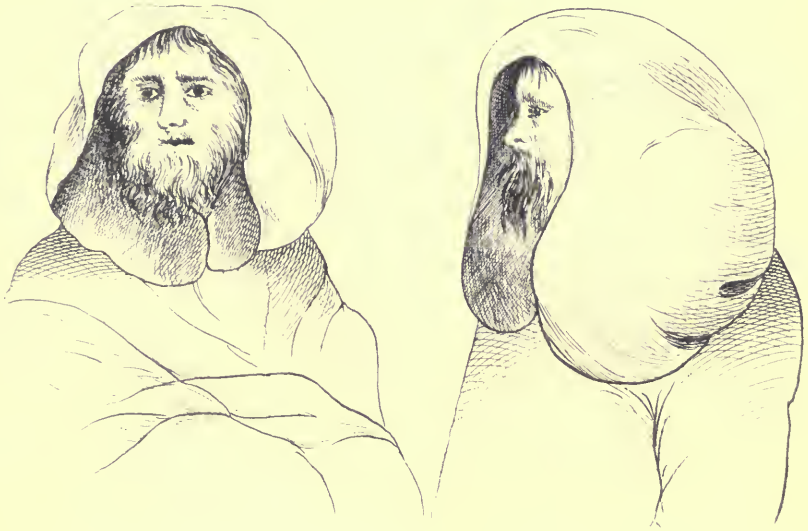
That otter-skins were considered of value in ancient times is evident from one of the Welsh laws of Howel Dha, (in the 10th century), in which the skin of an ox, a deer, a fox, a wolf, and an otter, are all valued at the same price, that is, eight times as dear as the skin of a sheep or goat. [*Leges Wallicæ*, p. 161.] There are early notices of the export of otter-skins, among other peltry, from Ireland.

The skins composing the cloak have been completely tanned, either intentionally or by the long continued action of the bog-water; most likely the former, as the material for this process was at hand in abundance in the oak forests which covered great tracts of the country. Dr. Thomson ascertained that the threads used in the sewing are made of animal fibre, and composed of two strands twisted singly to form one thread; and that from their length they are probably made of the sinews of some large animal. The holes are very small, hardly larger than to admit the thread, so that the awl or needle was in all probability of metal. The workmanship of the sewing is wonderfully beautiful and regular: and the top and bottom of the cloak are bordered by a doubled thong stitched in a most elaborate and ingenious manner, which one of our modern saddlers would have great difficulty in imitating. The whole dress has evidently been made with much care, and by a workman of remarkable skill. Its entire weight is exactly one pound. It bears the mark of considerable wear, but is still in good preservation. It was found in the year 1861, in a bog in the parish of Derrykeighan, in the northern part of the county of Antrim, at a depth of six feet below the surface, and is now in the collection of Mr. David Wilson, Ballymoney, who has already saved from destruction many interesting antiquities found in the same neighbourhood.

There is some doubt as to how this piece of dress was worn. The one edge (narrower than the other) fits exactly round the neck; and if so fastened, with the dress hanging downwards, it would form a cape; but in this case, the fur would lie in the wrong direction for throwing off the rain. It would seem probable, therefore, that it was first secured round the neck with the flesh

side out, and then thrown over the head; in which case, the fur would be outwards and would lie in the proper direction. The dress would then present nearly the appearance represented in the two accompanying figures; being, as I believe, a genuine specimen of an ancient Irish *cochull craicion*, or skin-hood.

ROBERT MACADAM.



# NOTICES OF THE CLAN IAN VÓR, OR CLAN-DONNELL SCOTS,

## ESPECIALLY OF THE BRANCH SETTLED IN IRELAND.

When the Lordship of the Isles was finally surrendered to the Scottish crown, in 1493, the Clansmen's peculiar occupation, as soldiers, very generally ceased throughout the land. The clans in the Western Highlands and Isles constituted a compact array of attached vassals, whilst the Island-Kingdom existed; and, even after its fall, they made various efforts for its restoration, but, as a general rule, warlike spirits only continued to be agitated by old recollections and traditions. Fortunately for the peace of Scotland, a powerful branch of the family of the Isles possessed hereditary claims on the Antrim coast, and hence it happened that much of the military prowess which might have been expended in resisting the politic measures of James IV. for the settlement of the Isles, was employed against the enemies of that monarch in Antrim, and generally throughout the province of Ulster. This powerful branch of the great Island-family was known in Scotland as the *Clan Ian Vór*, or descendants of John Mór MacDonnell and his wife Margery Bissett, the sole heiress of the Glynns of Antrim. John Mór (or as he was called in the Highlands, John the Tanist was the second son of an island-prince known as 'the good John of Isla,' and of Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert II. The powerful tribe known in the Highlands and Isles as Clan Ian Vór, was also designated *the Clan Donnell*, a name originally derived from Donnell Balloch, one of its most distinguished chieftains. It was still more definitely marked in Scotland as the ClanDonnell *South* to distinguish it from the family of the MacDonnells of Sleat, who were called the ClanDonnell *North*. The latter derived this designation from the circumstance of the sept having no fewer than six chieftains in succession bearing the christian name of *Donnell*.[a]

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the chief of the Clan Ian Vór was Alexander of Isla, whom James IV. banished from Scotland, and who was thus compelled to take up his abode permanently on the Irish shore.[b] Although he visited the Scottish coast occasionally as the ally of his father-in-law, Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan, he was not permitted to hold any lands in that kingdom until after the king's death, which took place at the battle of Flodden, in the year 1513. Alexander was soon afterwards restored to the royal favour, and James V. entrusted him with the command of an army of 8000 men, to be employed in frustrating the efforts of the English

[a] Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 63.

[b] This chieftain has been hitherto *invariably* confounded with Alexander *Carrach*, who was a younger brother of John Mór, and who was represented among the Ulster Scots in the sixteenth century by his descendant, another Alexander Carrach, chief of the ClanRanald of Lochaber, known in the Irish State Papers as the clan *MacAllaster Charrie*. The distinction between Alexander of Isla and Alexander Carrach will be clearly marked as we proceed.

government for the subjugation and settlement of Ulster. With this large force the Scottish chief was able to defy the feeble powers of the 'Pale,' and to secure for himself and his successors not only the undisturbed possession of the Glynns of Antrim, his family inheritance, but also to annex the more valuable adjoining territory of the Route.

I. On his death, which occurred about the year 1540, his eldest son, James, became the leader of the Clan Ian Vór, or ClanDonnell, in Scotland, and on the Irish coast. As such, he had almost absolute control over the movements of his seven warlike brothers, and commanded their services either in Antrim or Argyle, as circumstances required. Soon after his father's restoration to the royal favour, James had been invited to the Scottish Court, and whilst there, was placed under the care of William Henderson, Dean of Holyrood, who was specially appointed to give him such instruction as Scottish nobles of the time were supposed to require. It was during this period, doubtless, that he learned to write, and he seems to have been almost the only one of his name who had acquired that useful accomplishment. Indeed, few of the Scottish gentry aspired to such a high pitch of literary attainment as the simple act of writing implied; and as for the Island lords, they generally regarded the art as unworthy of any one but a poor monk. During his residence at court, James MacDonnell met the Lady Agnes Campbell, who became his wife, and who was daughter to Colin Campbell, third Earl of Argyle.[c] His marriage with a lady of this noble house was a great means of securing his loyal adherence to the interests of the Scottish throne. In 1545, when Donnell Dhu attempted to restore the kingdom of the Isles, James MacDonnell was the only island chief who supported the Regent, and employed his powerful arms in favour of the young Queen of Scots. It is a remarkable proof of his popularity, that although he thus stood in direct opposition to his kinsmen, the barons and chieftains of the Isles, they elected him as their leader on the death of Donnell Dhu, in 1545, whilst the English king made haste to sanction their choice, and held out to him the tempting prospect of restoring the island throne originally founded by his ancestor, Somhairle, the great thane of Argyle.[d] James MacDonnell's loyalty seems to have wavered for a time under this severe pressure, and he wrote one letter[e] which certainly committed him to

[c] This lady was *sister* to Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyle, and not his *daughter*, as erroneously stated at vol. ix., p. 124, of this *Journal*.

[d] This mighty chieftain, or prince, was the common ancestor of all the great Scottish families of MacDonnells. His deeds of valour and conquest are recorded in the Saga of king Hácon Háconsson, in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, in the Chronicle of the Kings of Man, and in the Annals of the Four Masters. *Somhairle* is his Gaelic name, but he is better known by *Somerled*, which is its Norse form, and is composed of two Norwegian words, *Sumar*, summer, and *lidè* a wanderer. The name Somerled was originally used as the designation of any Northern pirate who went forth on marauding expeditions during the summer season. This chieftain (Somhairle) was the son of a Celtic father, and a Scandinavian mother. The name Somhairle became, in later times, Sorley, and is supposed at the present day, to be the equivalent of *Samuel*. See Munch's Edit. of the *Chronica Manniae et Insularum*, p. 42, and Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 10.

[e] This letter was signed *James McConaill* of *Dunnewaik* and *Glennis* (Dunyveg and Glens), and dated at Ardnamurchan, January 24, 1545-6. It was addressed to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, and sent by Hector

Lennox's rebellion; but he soon discovered that he could neither depend on the promises of England nor the professions of the Islesmen, and his allegiance as a Scottish subject became warmer and more cordial than before. Nor did Mary afterwards forget the valuable services he had rendered the State during her minority. Not only did she permit him to hold the lands originally owned by his ancestors in Isla and Cantire, but added very considerably to his possessions in both districts, and granted him large estates in other islands as well as in other parts of Argyleshire. His possessions in Scotland were thus much enlarged, whilst, on the Irish coast, his property had been rendered more valuable and his influence greater by the acquisition of the Route. The old family title of Lord of *Duneyveg* and *Glennis*, which had been suppressed after the execution of his grandfather, John Cathanach, was restored to James MacDonnell, who became virtually Lord of the Isles by a more substantial tenure than the empty title bestowed by the Islesmen. Under his leadership the Clan Ian Vór became more powerful than any other in the Western Isles, and their kinsmen on the Antrim coast prospered in all their ways.

We can trace this chieftain by his letters, as residing by turns in *Isla*, the original seat of the lords of the Isles; at *Ardnamurchan*, the territory which belonged to his mother's family, the Mac Ian MacDonnells, or Mac Ians; at *Saudell* in Cantire, near which reposes the dust of his great ancestor, Somhairle; and at the castle of *Red Bay*, on the Antrim coast[f] In addition to these, he owned, and no doubt, occasionally occupied the old family castle so beautifully situated, which formerly stood in the immediate vicinity of Campbelltown, the fortress of Dunaverty near the Mull of Cantire, and the stronghold in the island of Rathlin, known as Bruce's Castle, which, with all the Scottish residences above-named, was included in the grants conferred on him by Mary Queen of Scots. In the sixteenth century, and during many preceding ages, Rathlin was considered a Scottish island, and some island-lord at a very remote period had built a strong fortress on its most picturesque and commanding position. To this place Donald MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles, conducted Robert Bruce from Dunaverty, in 1306, and it must then have been in tenantable condition. The castle was afterwards kept in repair by the MacDonnells of Antrim, until their position on the main land was permanently fixed, in 1586. When no longer required as a strategic point, it was permitted to fall into ruin, and at present only small portions of the walls remain. The ruins of the castle at Red Bay, near Cushindall, in Antrim, are still in such

Dodson, his pilot. The writer proposed that the Earl of Lennox or any other authorised person should be sent with a force to the Isle of Sanda, near the west coast of Cantire, on or about St. Patrick's day. There, James MacDonnell would be found at the time specified, with his entire available force, together with those of his kinsmen and allies, namely, Allan MacLean of Gigha and Torlosk, the ClanRanald, Clan Cameron, Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan, and the ClanDonnell North and South. For his co-operation he stipulated to have a bond from Henry VIII. for a yearly sum of 2000 crowns, the sum granted to his late "chief and master, Donald, Lord of the Yllis, whom God assoilzie; the whilk deit in his said Grace's service."

[f] Hamilton's *Calendar of Irish State Papers*, pp. 73, 149, 201, 207, 215.

preservation as to indicate its original size and strength. It was rebuilt by James MacDonnell in 1561, on the site of an earlier structure which belonged to his ancestors, the Bissetts. Under the mound where it stands are red caves of immense dimensions from which, doubtless, it was named *Uaimh an Deirg.*[g] On the 28th of April, 1561, Piers, then constable of Carrickfergus, wrote to inform the lord justice Fitzwilliam, that James Maconyll (MacDonnell) had brought many carpenters from Scotland to build a house in the Red Bay, and that while there, he had uttered very "evil talk" against the queen (Elizabeth), saying that the queen of Scotland was rightful heir to the English throne.

On the death of James MacDonnell, in 1565, the chieftainship of the Clan Ian Vór, devolved on his eldest son, Angus, who dwelt in Scotland, and whose long life was almost exclusively occupied in waging bloody feuds, first against the MacLeans and afterwards against the Campbells. The dispute with the MacLeans arose from an old claim of the latter to the Rinns of Isla, which claim Angus was determined to resist. The MacLeans treacherously seized him in the castle of Dowart, and compelled him to agree to their own terms respecting the lands in dispute. As security for the due fulfilment of his pledge, he was required to leave hostages (his son and brother) in the hands of his captors. He did not fail, however, to invite the MacLeans to Isla that the quarrel might be finally arranged. The chief of the MacLeans, with eighty-six of his clan, actually accepted this invitation, and arrived at Angus MacDonnell's house of Mullintrea, in Isla, in the month of July, 1586. At first they were hospitably entertained, but a wicked MacLean, for his own selfish purposes, originated a false report that Randal MacDonnell, the brother of Angus, who was left as hostage at Dowart castle, had been murdered. This rumour roused the MacDonnells, who determined, now that the MacLeans were in their power, to avenge their brother's death and silence any further claims on Isla. Accordingly, Angus superintended the execution of two MacLeans every morning, until the chief alone survived of all those who had come to Mullintrea!

In the Campbells, Angus had to encounter, if not braver, at least more wily and successful enemies than the MacLeans. Before his death he was compelled to renounce all right and title to the island of Isla, in favour of Sir John Campbell, Thane of Cawdor. This humiliation only occurred after a long and ferocious struggle between the rival clans, in the course of which the proverbial cunning of the Campbells mainly contributed to their final successes against the MacDonnells. Angus had been compelled to surrender his only legitimate son, James MacDonnell, as security for the performance of his agreement; and this youthful chief was held a captive from 1604 until 1615, although he was married to Margaret Campbell, sister to Cawdor. In the latter year he made his escape, and put himself at the head of his broken clan, hoping to recover his family estates; but he was unsuccessful, and compelled to retire, first to Ireland, and afterwards to Spain. His rival, the Earl of Argyle, soon afterwards got into trouble also, and followed MacDonnell into

[g] It is so called by Shane O'Neill when describing his expedition against the Scots, 1565.

Spain as an exile. The latter was then restored to the royal favour, received a pension, and died quietly near London, in the year 1626. James MacDonnell left no children, and with him ended the main line of Clan Ian Vór chieftains.[h]

II. Colla MacDonnell, the third son of Alexander of Isla, does not appear to have left Antrim, and was better known on this coast than any of his brothers, with the exception of Sorley Boy [Somhairle Buidhe]. Colla was probably the most energetic of the family throughout the earlier struggles of the MacDonnells against the MacQuillans and O'Cahans. We find him always associated with his brother James in military operations; and, although suffering occasional reverses, the brothers generally remained masters of their various positions along the coast. They defeated alike the O'Cahans on the Bann, and the English on the sea coast. In the year 1551, Sir James Crofts, then Lord Deputy, went with four large ships filled with soldiers to attack and plunder Rathlin, where James and Colla MacDonnell had collected spoils hastily gathered from the mainland and carried to the island for safety. Of the results of this expedition, which sailed in August, 1551, we have a notice in the Annals of the Four Masters, and also in a letter written by Thomas Cusake, then Chancellor of Ireland, and addressed to the Earl of Warwick. The account given in the Annals would lead to the conclusion that the whole force employed in the expedition was landed on the island, and instantly cut off, almost to a man, by the Scots. This has been, hitherto, the generally accepted account of the affair. On the publication, however, of Mr. Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, the existence of Chancellor Cusake's letter became first known to the writer of this sketch, and even in its necessarily very abridged form in the Calendar, this document seemed to indicate that the results were by no means so disastrous to the English as was previously believed The following is a true and full copy of as much of the letter as relates to the affair at Rathlin, from which it will be seen that the statements of the *Four Masters* in some respects are exaggerated:—

*Public Record Office, London.—Irish Correspondence.*

EDWD. VI., 1551. VOL. III., NO. 52.

*Indorsed.* L. Chancellor's l^re^ of Irelande. 27 of September, 1551. S^r^ Thoms Cusack, Knight, Lorde Chauncellor of Irelande.

*Directed.* To the right honorable and his singular good Lord my Lord of Warwycke, lord great M^r^ giue theas.

"The next morowe certain prisoners of the Skottes w^ch^ were taken by the King's shipps were brought before my lorde, who told his L. that James M^c^Connyll and his breathern, w^th^ an nomber of Skottis, were all togidder in the Hand of Raghlin, and had with them the moost pte of all the praies of kyne and garrans that vi. daies before were taken by them out of Clanneboy, and for that

[h] Gregory's *Hist. of the Highlands and Isles*, pp. 101, 102. Cosmo Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 546, 548.

the same Iland was seant from the land iiii. myles by sea, and that there was at the same place tow barkes and tow small gallees that they dud [did] take from the Skottes vi. daies before. The Capitaines of the footemen was moost willing to be set a land with iii. or iiii. hondreth men, as well to revenge them self upon the people for invading the King's land and distroieing his ma$^{ties}$ people, as to seke out their praies, considering that James M$^{c}$Connyll and his brethern distroied in effect all Clanneboy and M$^{c}$Coyllens (MacQuillan) contre, and banyshid a sept of gentlemen out of their contre named Alexander Carraghes sonnes, men w$^{ch}$ sarvid the Kinge's Ma$^{tie}$ truelie, and besides the same from the same market place [Marketon, or Ballycastle Bay] to Glean arme [Glenarm] put vnder them silf, wherein they dud dwell as quiet as in Skotland, and had good occupieng of corn and cattaill in the same. So as they had vnder occupieng abowe xxx. mile, Whereby they gate the streingth of O'Cahan, M$^{c}$Coyllen, and all Clanneboye, and put all the capitains and gentlemen in thois pties of the northe to ber them trybute and yerelie rent, w$^{ch}$ was paied to them yerelie, and had no men of warre in bonaght, in those contries when oon of them dud warre upon other, but suche Skottes as James and his brethern dud send to them. So as betuext M$^{c}$Coyllens howse [Dunluce] and Bealfarst [Belfast] was obedient to his cesse of Skottes w$^{ch}$ is abowe l. or lx. myles. Then my Lord Deputie p$^{r}$ceaving the willing myndes of the capitains and souldio$^{rs}$ and their peticions in that behalf, and also considering the losse of the Kinges Ma$^{ties}$ land and people, being moost desirous so to haue the same revengid as no danger moght insue, sent for the M$^{rs}$ [masters] and Capitains of the barkes to him to knowe howe meny men they moght land at oon tyme in the Iland, who telt his L. not passe ii$^{e}$, and then my Lord being moost looth to adventure the losse of his men in suche sorte concluded, that they shold goo so meny by the coost to the place, whereas the same James is [his] gallies laie at Roode, and if they could bring the gallies w$^{th}$ them then thei moght land, v$^{e}$ at a tyme, whereby they shold atchue their interprise at their pleasure w$^{th}$out daungier. And if they could not com by their gallees afloote, that they shold not land in no wise, to bring them, onlese thei could p$^{r}$fictlie p$^{r}$ceive that the Skottes wold yeld and reto$^{r}$n backe from the daunger of the shipp's gonne shott. And so his Lordship and we all concluded to do, w$^{th}$ the advice of the capitains.

"After whiche determynacon, S$^{r}$ Raulf Bagnall and capitain Cuff determyned to advaunce forward w$^{th}$ thre hondreth soldiours, gonners and part archers, towardes the Iland. Then my lord eftsones declared vnto them his former conclusion, p$^{r}$hibiting them in no wise to land, but to keape their boates a flote in eschueng daunger of losse of men, and if by that meanes they could combie [come by] their gallies, then to bring them from thence, if not to retourn onles they could pceive that they could com by them without daunger. Whereupon they toke shipping and comeng nieghe the Iland, M$^{r}$ lieftennant and captain Cuff went booth in oon boot w$^{th}$ certain souldiors w$^{th}$ them to nomber of xxx. and iii. or iiii. boates more furnyshed w$^{th}$ lyke men. And as the boat where the lieftenant and Cuff was approchid niegh the place where their gallies were, they saue the gallies

drawen to drie land. So they could not com bye them without daungier, and sawe a nomber of Skottis towardes the same place, which did not yelde nor retier for any gret gonne shott, that was shott out of the ships. And whieles the lieftenant and Cuff was thus beholding the same, a soddain sourde [surge] of the sea came at a neb [an ebb] and set their bote opon the rockes. So as after they could not com thence, but abide the hassarde, and then as many as was in that bote were drowned and slayn to the nomber of xxv. and the lieftenant, captain Cuff, and tow more taken prisoners. So as all this came throghe mysfortuen, assuring your hono^r^ that there could no gou^r^nor set forth men more discreatlie and wyse then my lord dud, and for as good a cause and p^r^pose as ew^r^ [ever] men was sent. And thanks be to God, save onely for the losse of o^r^ men, ther is lyke suche good succesee to followe, as the Skotts will no more attempt to inhabite in Irland.

"And then James M^c^Connyll sent to my lord that he new^r^ [never] knewe that eny deputie was in Irland before nowe, meaneng that he thoght that no deputie wold have travailed so ferre in suche a wyldernes and desart places, where as no gon^r^no^r^ [governor] went w^th^ men sence the conquest, that any man may remember, so as the same io^r^nay [journey] is right notable (by the whiche there do natoorely insue great quietnes to the contree) but also pfyet [profit] to the Kings ma^tie^, besides the wynneng of subiects and bannesing of enemyes, w^ch^ will not be out of remebrans in Irland meny yeres.

"Also the same James, after the killing of the men and taking of the prisoners, dud lykwise send to my lord deputie his lres [letters] that he wold inlardge the prisoners and restore all suche armore and goods as was taken from them, and that his brethern being suffrid to dwell in the lands where they dud inhabite in Irland, shold berre and yeld w^th^ the Kg Ma^tie^ and do his grace service, but yet of their comeng again to the land, my lord nor we wold in no wise condiscend. Then my lord sent vnto him that onles he dud enlarge the prisoners and restoore their armore and goodes, he wolde complayn to the King's Ma^tie^, and sertifie the governo^r^ of Skotland of his evill demeano^r^ in this behalf. So as at the writing herof M^r^ lyeftennt went to Dublin to my lord deputie, and the restbe inlardgid and what furder conclusion is taken upon their inlarging asyet I do nat knowe, being assured that my lord deputie will certifie yo^r^ good lordship the full effect therof.

"All suche corn as the same Skotts had in those pties w^ch^ was more then all Clanneboy had, my lord distroied in effect. So as men report the moost trust that James and his brethern had for provicon of corn was in the same, and also Coll M Connell second brother to James had a strong castell buylded upon a rocke w^th^ a strong baon [bawn] of lyme and stoon over the sea named the castle of Keanbaan whiche my lord causid to be defaced and brake mych pte therof, so as now it is not defensible, w^ch^ I a [am] sure they neid had for so moch more displeasr doon to them.

From Lessmollin, the 27th of September, 1551.

Signed THOMAS CRSAKE, Cancel."

The publication of this curious extract will have the effect of correcting two errors which even our best archæological writers have been led to adopt. In the first place, it is evident that James MacDonnell and his seven brothers were not the sons of Alexander *Carrach*, since the latter are here spoken of as loyal to the government, and, for this cause, oppressed by the more powerful leaders of the ClanDonnell. The second error consists in supposing that all the men who came, in four ships, to attack the Scotts at Rathlin were slain with one exception, whereas only about thirty men of the expedition perished, and by a mere accident. Into the first error, our modern writers were led by adopting implicitly the statements of English officials in Ireland at the period referred to, and as for the other, the *Four Masters* appear to be alone responsible.

But although the loss of men at Rathlin was comparatively small, the expedition seems to have failed entirely in its objects. The Lord Deputy Crotts, endeavoured, no doubt, to persuade himself and others that his journey into the remote north was calculated to overawe the Clan-Donnell, but in this persuasion he was very much deceived indeed. The partial defacement of Kinbann Castle, in the absence of its stout Constable, Colla MacDonnell, was but a poor result from such formidable plans for the expulsion of the Scots. Colla very soon returned to his fortress, which he continued to hold without molestation until the time of his death, which happened in May, 1558.[i]

Colla left two sons, Gillaspick and Randal.[j] Gillaspick, was a prominent actor in the assassination of Shane O'Neill, near Cushindun, in the month of June, 1567. On that occasion, he commenced the celebrated altercation with O'Neill's secretary, and was probably one of the first to strike his dirk, (or "slaughter-knife," as the Irish annalists express it,) into O'Neill's heart. Gillaspick afterwards made his home in the island of Colonsay, where he possessed lands, and was succeeded by his son Colla, surnamed *Keitache* or *Ciotach* ('left-handed'), whose memorable conflicts with the Campbells are familiar to the readers of Scottish annals. With his left hand he must have dealt many deadly blows against his enemies, as nothing at last could satiate the vengeance of the Earl of Argyle short of inflicting upon him the most rigorous imprisonment, followed by the

[i] The ruins of Colla MacDonnell's castle, consisting of portions of the walls which formed the tower or keep, may still be seen on Kinbann—the '*White Headland*,'—a vast limestone rock, projecting its perpendicular front into the channel, about two miles north-west of Ballycastle.

[j] The following curious letter to Randal, son of Colla MacDonnell, was written by James Fitzgerald, a near relative of the last Earl of Desmond. This document, originally written in Irish, was probably intercepted by English authorities, and therefore preserved :—

"James Fitz Maurice to Randal MacDonnell. July 31, 1579.

"The custom of the letter (i. e. salutation), o. billet, from James, son of Maurice son of the Earl, to his friend and companion, Randal, son of Colla *Maeldubh*, and tell him that I told him to collect as many bonaght men as he can, and to come to me, and that he will get his pay according to his own will, for I was never more thankful to God for having great power and influence than now.—Advise every one of your friends (who likes fighting for his religion and his country better than for gold and silver, or who wishes to obtain them all as their wages,) to come to me, and that he will find each of these things." It does not appear however, that the promise of such great rewards was able to command the assistance of the cannie Scots in the hopeless cause of Fitzgerald. *Trans. of Archæol. Soc. of Kilkenny*, vol. ii., *N. Series*.

most ignominious death. It is generally supposed that Colla Kittach was hanged from the mast of his own galley, placed over the cleft of a rock, near the castle of Dunstaffnage, but the following extract from an old manuscript, preserved in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, records a somewhat different manner of this chieftain's death:

"Therefore doe they lay it home to the Marqueis of Argyle's door that his Lordship might have gotten these holie men[k] liberated at their first if his lordship would have, for the thrie ministers, set at libertie old Coll Kittach and his two sons, Archibald and Anguse. But the truth is he had not old Coll now to deliver for haveand him his prisoner and a wicked man (I dowt not) that deserved death, while Montrose and Allaster M^cDonald are weisteing and burning his bounds, he sends his prisoner old Coll to Captan Gillespie in Kirkcaldie, with ordour to keep him sicker [securely] under the deck till he, and no other but he, suld send written ordours for his redeliverie, which ordour was sent soone by one of Argyle's captarons, who upon the sight of the ordour received him (Coll) and hanged him ower the schipp side betwix Innerkething and Kirkcaldie. So that he was both hanged and drowned. My authority says that he was in Gillespie's shipp when he saw old Kittagh delivered to the Captain, and when he came to shore at Kirkcaldie, he heard that he was hanged."[l]

Coll Kittach left four sons, Gillaspick (Archibald), Angus, Alexander or Alastair, and James. The two last named came to Antrim on the dispersion of the family from Colonsay, and were noted as leaders of the Irish throughout this county, in the year 1641-2.[m] The most distinguished of the brothers was Alastair, who has been almost invariably called *Collkittagh*. Dr. Reid speaks of him as "Alaster Macdonnell, *the noted Collkittagh*," (*Hist. of Pres. Church*, vol. i., p. 340, although he had explained, at page 300, that Alastair was the *son* of Colkittagh! The same over sight (for it does not amount to a mistake) occurs in Dr. O'Donovan's account of the MacDonnells. Speaking of Colonel Alexander MacDonnell, of Ballybanagh, County of Antrim, O'Donovan says

[k] The Rev. Messrs. Hamilton, Watson, and Weir, presbyterian ministers, imprisoned in the castle of Mingarrie, Ardnamurchan.

[l] Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. I., p. 553-4.

[m] The two brothers Alastair and James MacColla were associated with Irish leaders named Patrick MacHenry O'Neill, Manus Roe O'Cahan, John Mortimer, and Turlough O'Cahan, son of Gilduff O'Cahan, of Dunseverick. Amongst other exploits, they burned the town of Dunluce, which had been of considerable importance in that district, but which never seems to have recovered, except in a very slight degree, from the disaster which thus befel it in 1641. Of this town there are still two interesting memento. In the [illegible] burying-ground, eastward of the castle, there is a tombstone having family arms sculptured on the centre, and the following inscription written along the four edges of the slab: HEIR LYETH THE CHILDREN OF WALTER KID MARCHANT OF DUNLUCE BURGES OF IRVIN. HE MADE THIS STONE TENTH OF MARCH IN ANNO DOMINI 1630.

Inside the old church, on the north wall, is a tablet inscribed as follows: "HERE . VNDER . LYETH THE . BODY . OF . FLORENCE . M^cPHILIP . ALIAS . HAMILTON . LATE . WIFE . OF . ARCHIBALD M^cPHILIP . OF . DUNLUCE . MERCHT . AND . DAUGHTER . TO . CAPTAINE . ROBERT HAMILTON . OF . CLADEY . WHO DEPARTED . THIS LIFE . THE 20^H . OF . JULY . ANNO . 1674.

Death can dissolve but not destroy:
[illegible] reap in joy.

"he was mistaken by Lodge for *Colla Kittagh, who was also a Sir Alexander MacDonnell*, having been knighted by Montrose on the field, and who was slain in the battle of Knocknanos, in County Cork, by Inchiquin, in 1647."[n] The name by which he was always known in the Highlands was Alastair Mac Colla Kittagh, and therefore it is surprising to find even old Spalding, who is generally so accurate in other respects, writing him "*Mac Coll Mac Kittish!*" After this, one is prepared for any amount of ridiculous distortion of the name by English writers, who knew nothing of his descent, or family connexions. Alastair Mac Colla actually figures in their pages as *Colquitto* and *Colonel Kitto!* There seems also to prevail an entire uncertainty as to his family descent among the greater number of those who have chronicled his exploits. Some have represented him as a cousin of the second Earl of Antrim, whilst others speak of him as an illegitimate son of that nobleman. He was neither one or other, although a kinsman of Lord Antrim. He was the son of Colla MacDonnell, surnamed *Kittagh*, of Colonsay, who was the son of Gillaspick, that assisted at the slaying of Shane O'Neill, who was the son of Colla, surnamed *Maeldur*, of Kinnbann, who was the third son of Alexander of Isla, great-grandfather to the second Earl of Antrim.[o]

In 1644, Alastair Mac Colla was given the command of Irish troops sent into Scotland by Lord Antrim, to assist Montrose in fighting up the declining cause of Charles I. Although brave, and experienced in leading irregular troops, he was always watching for opportunities to avenge the wrongs of his family on the Campbells, and thus permitted himself to be drawn away from the proper objects of the war in which he was a prominent actor. Previously to the battle of Philiphaugh, he withdrew many of the Highlanders from Montrose's camp to assist him in certain private feuds, and was thus really the cause of the disaster which befel the royal arms on that field. His final attempt to withstand the Covenanters in Cantire was singularly unsuccessful. Sir James Turner, who acted as adjutant-general in Argyle's army on that occasion, has thus recorded his impressions of MacDonnell's mismanagement of his forces:—"From Inverary we marched to Kintyre, which is a peninsula. Both before and at the entry to it, there were such advantages of ground, that our foot, for mountains and marshes, could never have drawn up one hundred in a body, nor our horse above three in a breast, which, if Sir Alister had prepossessed with those thousand or twelve hundred brave foot that he had with him, I think he might have ruined us, at least we should not have entered Kintyre but by a miracle; but he was ordained for destruction, for, by a speedy march, we made ourselves masters of these difficult passes, and got into a plain country, where no sooner he saw our horse advance, but with little or no fighting he retired; and if the Lieutenant-General had been with him, and had given him a salvo or two, which would have disordered them, I believe none had escaped from our horse. Allister, like a fool, for he was no

[n] *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 1897. [o] Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 413.

soldier, though stout enough, put three hundred of his men into a house on the top of a hill called Dunaverty, environed with a stone wall on the one side, and the sea on the other, where there was not one drop of water but what fell from the clouds. . . . . We besieged Dunaverty, which kept out well enough till we stormed a trench they had at the foot of the hill, whereby they commanded two stripes of water. This we took, and in the assault forty of them were put to the edge of the sword." After this, the unfortunate garrison invented several contrivances to catch water from the clouds, but no rain fell, and the heat of a July sun rendered their thirst intolerable. The MacDonnells were soon compelled to surrender at discretion, and General Leslie, after five days' mock deliberation, yielded to the frantic clamourings of the Covenanters for their destruction. These clamours were vigorously expressed by one John Nave, the Covenanting chaplain to the forces of Leslie and Argyle, he (John) threatening the generals with the curses that overwhelmed Saul for sparing the Amalekites, should any consideration tempt them to listen to the voice of mercy. The result is thus recorded by Sir James Turner:—"Then the prisoners were put to the sword, every mother's son, except one young man, Mac Coll, whose life I begged, to be sent to France[p] with one hundred country fellows whom we had smoked out of a cave as they do foxes, and were given to Captain Campbell, the Chancellor's brother."

Alastair had early escaped from the garrison, for the purpose of bringing assistance from the Antrim shore, but he never returned. Tradition states that he actually collected a small force on this coast and approached Dunaverty, but too late to render any aid to his clansmen. A piper inside the garrison on seeing Alastair nearing the cliff, instantly played the Gaelic air *Colla nan rùn, seachuinn an Dùn*, ["Colla, my darling, avoid the *Dún*,"] thus warning him away from Dunaverty. For this act, the poor piper had his fingers chopped off by his covenanting conquerors; but Alastair took the hint, and thus avoided the miserable fate of his soldiers.[q] When the Royalist cause thus failed him in Scotland, he joined it in Ireland, where he was soon afterwards slain. This branch of the Clan Ian Vór is represented, at the present day, by Dr. James MacDonnell, Mr. John MacDonnell, and Mr. Alexander Keenan, of Ballycastle, and also by the family of the late Dr. MacDonnell, of Belfast.

III. The next most distinguished of the sons of Alexander of Isla was Angus, the fourth in the order of age. He was surnamed *Uaibhreach*, "the Proud," being a brave soldier, and possessed of great influence as a political leader in the Isles. He took a leading part in the rebellion of 1545, having for its object, as already stated, the restoration of his kinsman, Donnell Dhu MacDonnell, to his hereditary kingdom. The Regent *Arran*, and his privy council, issued a proclamation against "Donnell, alleging himself of the Isles, and other Highlandmen, his partakers." This proclamation

[p] This young MacDonnell was probably Colla, the eldest son of Alastair's brother, Gillaspie or Archibald. He was a youth of eighteen, and known as Colla MacGillespie Mac Colla MacGillespie. He had previously been imprisoned but was exchanged by Argyle for the Rev. James Hamilton. See Reid's *History*, vol. i., p. 536.

[q] *Glenroggie*, or a *Highland Home in Cantire*, vol. i. p. 121.

affirms that Donnell and his adherents had made frequent *invasions* both in the Isles and on the mainland, by the assistance of the English king, thus shewing the intention of bringing these territories under the yoke of England. Proceesses of treason were forthwith commenced against the principal leaders in the Isles and whilst this step was in progress, Donnell, on the other side, by advice and consent of his barons and council, appointed two influential persons to negotiate, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the authorities in London. The two commissioners were "Rore MacAllister, elect to the bishopre of ye Iles in Scotland, and deyn of Morwarne (Morvern), and M^r^ Patriek MacLane, Bailre of Ycomkill and Justice Clerk of ye South Ilis." Donnell and his council invested these commissioners with full authority "to bind and to lowse, to follow and defend, to tyn and to wyn, to end and compleit, as our owin propir personis were presentis. And for seeuritie of yir present, we ye said Donald has affixed our propir seill wieht (with) *our hand at ye pene, because we can nocht wryte,* and has causit ye Baronis, becaus thai can noeht wryte, to cause ane Notar to subseribe for yame wieht yair hand at ye pene, wieht yair bodely aythis (oaths) never to come in ye contrar of ye sammyn." The commission is signed by Donnell dhu and his seventeen eounsellors, among whom was "Angus M^c^Conill Brud^r^ Jarme (brother german) to James M^c^Conill." After each signature is added the announeement, "w^t^ my hand at ye pene," which conveys to future times an humble impression respecting the literary accomplishments of those proud barons. The other barons and members of the council of the Isles, who signed the doeument, were Hector MacLean, Lord of Dowart; John MacAllaster, captain of the Clanranald; Rorie MaeLeod, of Lewis; Alexander Mac Leod, of Dunvegan, Murdoch MaeLean, of Lochbay; Allan MaeLean, of Torlusk; Arehibald MaeDonnell, captain of the Clanhustein, or Clandonnell *North*; Alexander Mac Ian Mae Donnell, of Ardnamurehan; John MacLean, of Coll; Gilliganan MacNeill, of Barra; Ewan MacKinnon, of Straghnordill; John Macquarrie, of Ulva; Johu MacLean, of Ardgour; Alexander MacRandal MacDonnell, of Glengarry,; Angus MacRandal MacDonnell, of Knoydert; and Donald MacLean, of Kengarloch. [*State Papers*, vol. v., pp. 477-8.]

These negotiations resulted in a celebrated rendezvous at Carriekfergus, on the 5th of August, 1545, where the lords and barons of the Isles, assembled with a force of 4000 men and 180 galleys. In the presence of two commissioners sent by Lennox from England, and of the eonstable, mayor, and magistrates of Carrickfergus, the leaders in the Isles took the oath of allegianee to Henry VIII. The eeremony was performed in the "ehaptour of y^e^ Gray Freris of Knokfarguse, in presenee of Patrick Colquhoun and Waltir MacFarlan, Commissionaris send be my Lord the Erll of Lennox, secund person of ye realme of Scotland,[l] and also in presence of Waltir Cluddy,[m] eonstable of the

[l] Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, when compelled by the Regent to seek safety in England, married there the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII., and his s n Lord Darnley, became the husband of Mary Queen of Scots. His rank, therefore, does not appear to be overstated by the Islesmen.

[m] This person is named *Fluddy* in the Irish State Papers.

King's castell of Knokfarguse, Hary Wild, Mayor of ye said town, Patrick Magillaquahowill, Nicholas Wild, Bailyies of said town, Wilyeam Dobbeyn, Wilyeam O'Mulen, Richard Sandell." [*State Papers*, vol. v., p. 484]. This rebellion of the Islanders was sustained vigorously at the outset, from a variety of motives. Some (among whom Angus) were sincerely attached to Donnell as the direct representative of the old family of the Isles; others were urged forward by a deep-rooted hatred to the Earl of Argyle, the head of the Campbells, and the ruthless but wily foe of the MacDonnells; whilst not a few were ignobly moved by the love of English gold which was expected to be poured amongst them abundantly. Donnell Dhu died soon after the meeting at Carrickfergus, and the chiefs quarrelled about the division of a sum of money sent from England to assist them in carrying on the war. This cause of dispute separated the council, and sent its members to their several castles, but although a sense of common danger afterwards drew them together, the rebellion was virtually at an end.

In the year 1550, the Irish government was alarmed by rumours of a contemplated French invasion of Ulster. The invading force was expected to come from the Scottish coast, although it was to be composed principally of French troops. To ascertain the probable results of such an attempt, the French government wisely sent commissioners beforehand into Ulster, and Angus MacDonnell was selected by the Scottish council to accompany them. Although, however, he was personally well qualified for this work, and had considerable influence on the Irish coast in consequence of his family connexions, he signally failed in obtaining co-operation from the Ulster chiefs. The Irish *State Papers* contain two letters written by the chiefs of Tyreonnell and Tyrone respecting this embassy from France. On the 4th of March, Manus O'Donnell wrote from the town of Donegal to the Lord Deputy and Council, informing them that there had come to Lough Foyle two great lords, Frenchmen, out of Scotland, and that they had sent a gentleman (Angus MacDonnell) to treat with him. He further states that they had not ventured to send any letters or documents to him, knowing that he had made it a rule in times past to forward all treasonable papers to the authorities in Dublin. On the 7th of the same month, Con O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone, wrote to Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, informing him that Dr. Waucop, who called himself primate, had lately arrived with certain French noblemen, who brought him (O'Neill) letters from the French king. These noblemen had conferred many gifts on James M^c^Connell (MacDonnell) on gaining his alliance. O'Neill also stated that Aeneas (Angus) brother to said James, came with them from Scotland, and had provided for their accommodation whilst in Ireland three castles in the island commonly called Inishowen. This letter was written in Latin, and dated at Dungannon.

On the 17th March, the Lord Chancellor and Council wrote from Dublin to Con O'Neill, thanking him for his early announcement of the arrival of the French emissaries, and assuring him that although they might pretend to come only for the purpose of making war upon the English, they

really had in view, if possible, the subjugation of all Ireland. The Chancellor and Council further endeavour to enlighten O'Neill respecting the true character of the French *régime* in Italy and Sicily, where they had been guilty of innumerable oppressions and unspeakable wickedness, and from which they had been justly expelled. Their nobility was fierce, proud, and rapacious, and it would, therefore, be preferable (adds the Chancellor) for the Irish or any other people to live in subjection to the Turks than to the French.[t] The tone of this letter implies that the government was very much in earnest on the subject, and also that the danger threatened was of a very serious nature indeed. Copies of the same letter were, no doubt, forwarded to all the Ulster chiefs, as the latter remained faithful in their allegiance to the government, or rather gave no countenance to the French nobles and their associate, Angus MacDonnell. He returned to Scotland, and the only further information supplied by the State Papers respecting him, is, that, in 1558, his brother James offered him the lordship of the Route, which he declined, and that, in 1565, his proud head was laid low on the fatal field of Gleanntaoise, near Ballycastle.[u]

IV. Alexander *Oge* MacDonnell, although older than Angus and Colla, being the second brother, was not known as a leader in Ulster until after they had both passed away. When his elder brother James went to reside permanently in Scotland, Alexander accompanied him, and was appointed Steward of Cantire. This appointment was conferred by his brother as chief of the Clan Ian Vór, and in virtue of his (James's) possession of that district, almost the entire of which he held by royal grant or marriage dowry. In 1567, Alexander Oge's energetic operations against Shane O'Neill had been so essential, that the government officials felt themselves in a difficulty as regarded this Scottish chieftain. They were unable to dispense with his services in Ulster, and yet to retain him was manifestly in opposition to the Queen's policy, which commanded the dismissal or expulsion of all Scots with as much dispatch as possible, and the substitution of English colonists along the northern coasts. The Lord Deputy and others did not fail to mention this difficulty to the Privy Council. As the matter seems to have interested Queen Elizabeth very warmly, she occasionally lectured the Lord Lieutenant, in letters, respecting it. We find a lengthened epistle from her Majesty, calendared by Mr. H. Hamilton at page 324, in which she asks to be particularly informed of the condition of the countries, held by James MacDonnell at the time of his defeat by Shane O'Neill, and admits the difficulty about his brother Alexander Oge, who "hath very well servid in prayeng upon Shane." Speaking of the great object to be kept in view by her Irish government, she thus expresses herself:—"We take it for certen, that the best way were, as you also have thought, *if tyme and other opportunitise might serve us*, to suffre no Scot to have any habitation or abode in Ireland." Her Majesty then charges her Deputy to keep constantly excluding and expelling the Scots, as much as may be consistent with sound policy, and winds up this portion of her letter by informing him that "we have

[t] Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 107.

[u] For a detailed account of this great battle, drawn from original sources, see vol. ix., pp. 130–134. of this *Journal*.

also in this behalf an intention to wryte to the Queen of Scotts to prohibit the frequentation and passage of her people into that our realm, which at this very present we do forbeare untill the retourn of our cosin th'earle of Bedford." Two days after the date of this epistle, on the 18th January, 1567, we find the lord deputy Sidney congratulating the Privy Council on the manner in which Alexander Oge MacDonnell kept spoiling, or preying on Shane O'Neill, about Knockfergus, the Glynns, the Route, and O'Cahan's country. Shane had occupied the Route and Glynns after his victory over the Scots at Gleantaoise, and the Scots, under Alexander Oge, were now paying him back for his former treachery and brutality.

The crafty Fitzwilliam, writing of Shane's assassination, eight days afterwards, urgently recommends the Scots to be paid in money for this signal deliverance, and then dismissed out of the land. Alexander Oge does not appear to have been disposed for any delay in Antrim longer than was required by the purpose which had evidently drawn him from Cantire. That purpose was entirely accomplished in the destruction of Shane O'Neill, which he would have prosecuted to the death altogether irrespective of English encouragement or assistance. He was not even aware that the government had offered a large reward for Shane's head, or if so, he scorned to dull the sweet sense of his revenge by accepting it. On the contrary, he ordered the mutilated body to be cast into a pit, and it remained for captain William Piers, constable, afterwards governor of Carrickfergus, to sneak forth from his castle as soon as the MacDonnells had departed, cut off O'Neill's head, and pocket the reward of the government. But Alexander Oge's primary object of revenge against O'Neill could not justly free the government from the debt which was felt to be due to him for such important services. On the 8th of July, the Queen wrote again, from Richmond, praising Sidney's wisdom and tact for dealing with the "troublesome rebel," Shane O'Neill, and particularly in accomplishing so singular a benefit as his destruction. At the same time she urges that Alexander Oge and his Scotts should be *largely rewarded* for their part in the transaction, adding, however, that if they refused to return to Scotland, they must be speedily expelled by force.

But another difficulty threatened. On the death of Shane O'Neill, his cousin, Turlough Luineeh O'Neill, put forward his claim to be recognised as prince of Ulster and legitimate heir to the principality. Sir Francis Knollys was of opinion that such claim should be instantly and summarily opposed, that Turlough Luineeh should not be permitted to assume the title of *The O'Neill*, and that his lands should be offered to Alexander Oge and the Scots, on condition that they would expel him and occupy it themselves. The latter, however, by this time, July 7th, had probably taken his departure from Ulster, never to return. On the 22nd of the same month, the Queen wrote to Sidney, instructing him, among other matters, that captain William Piers was worthy of great praise for the politic expulsion of Alexander Oge and his Scots. She directed, further, that a bark, two frigates, and one hundred men were to be employed in the North Channel, for the special purpose of preventing any further visits from the dreaded 'red-shank' hosts. Thus, Piers had the

profit arising from MacDonnell's act of vengeance on O'Neill, and also the praise of ridding Ulster of these troublesome visitants after their work was done. But Piers had no power to expel the Scots, at that time, and Alexander Oge was probably as anxious to return to Cantire as his politic friends were to see him quietly depart. He lived three years after this celebrated campaign in Antrim, and seems to have devoted much of his time in connexion with his younger brother, Sorley Boy, to the organisation of new levies for the invasion of Ulster. His own position on the Scottish coast was sufficient to satisfy himself, but his three brothers Gillaspick, Donnell, and Sorley, were now driven from the home of their adoption, and Alexander saw no reason to submit to such humiliation, especially as he himself had just removed their deadliest enemy, O'Neill, and liberated Sorley Boy from thraldom. Accordingly, the *State Papers* give us intimations, from time to time, that Alexander and Sorley diligently prepared to renew the contest for their lost position in Antrim. On the third of November in the same year, 1567, Piers wrote to the Lords Justices, from Carrickfergus, informing them that Captain Thornton had discovered that these two Scottish leaders were engaged in collecting and organizing a force of 1200 men, to re-cross the channel at an early day. In this letter, the writer also communicates the unpleasant intelligence that Owen or John MacDonnell, the "captain of our Scots," (of the Scots in the pay of the government,) had deserted, and could no longer be depended on. Piers requests, in conclusion, that the Deputy and Council would write to Alexander Oge MacAlastair Carrach of the Glynns, and his brother Randal Oge, thanking them for their fidelity in the service of the government. Of course the threatened invasion of Antrim did not take place during the winter, but in the following February, Piers announces that Alexander and Sorley had written, no doubt, to ascertain whether the government were disposed to modify their rigorous policy towards the Scots. In reply, the Lords Justices express their conviction that the Scots have already made their arrangements to come, and Piers is directed to plant soldiers at Glenarm and the Market Town (Ballycastle), to annoy them and their "maintainers" on the coast. This invasion does not appear to have occurred, probably owing to some dissensions among the Scottish leaders, as in the following year, 1568, Captain Edward Waterhouse wrote to the Irish Lords Justices, from Chester, that a "controversy" had arisen between Alexander and Sorley, but does not mention the cause of it. We may fairly conclude, however, that it originated in the question of precedence on the Irish coast. Alexander was the natural guardian of James's family, and as such, claimed on their behalf a position which Sorley was not willing to accord. The latter had always lived in Antrim, and taken on himself responsibilities which his brothers Alexander and Angus declined, and probably thus came to consider himself as chief of the Clan Donnell in Ulster. The latest mention of Alexander MacDonnell in the State Papers, occurs in a letter written by Turlough Brasselagh O'Neill, at Ballenielagh (Ballylough, near Bushmills), and addressed to Terence Danyell, Dean of Armagh. This document, dated 27th August, 1569, states that Alexander and Sorley intended to come with an army of Scots about Michaelmas to Claneboy, and to land at or

near Knockfergus. It does not appear, however, that Alexander MacDonnell ever returned again to the Antrim coast, or took any part in the violent and protracted struggle which now commenced between his brother Sorley and the English. He died probably in 1569, or the year following, as no later mention of him occurs either in the Irish or Scottish State Papers. Nothing, or almost nothing, is known of his family. He had at least one son, but whether the latter survived his father, or if so, where, and in what manner he lived is not known. It appears that this son was held by the English, in 1567, probably as a hostage for his father's good faith, and that he was clandestinely withdrawn from their hands by Con and Hugh MacNeill, who conveyed him safely over to Scotland after his father's return thither from the Glynns. The letter which records his deliverance terms him the "dear son of Alexander Oge," and states that his liberators, the "two Mac Neills," were forthwith imprisoned for their pains in the castle of Knockfergus.

We have thus briefly sketched the lives of *four* sons of Alexander of Isla, who were distinguished leaders of the Clan Ian Vór in Antrim. The seventh son, Sorley Boy, was the best known, and by much the most successful. His career, both as a military and political leader, is fraught with interest, and may, probably, form the subject of a distinct paper in a subsequent number of this *Journal*.

GEORGE HILL.

## THE MACLEODS OF SCOTLAND.

In a recent article in this *Journal* on the "Fomorians and Lochlanns," Dr. O'Donovan* has done me the honor to refer to me by name, in relation to the pedigree of the MacLeods of Scotland.

He says, referring to the Scottish tradition that MacLeod of Arran is of Scandinavian descent:—"This descent has been latterly doubted by Mr. Skene in his *History of the Highland Clans*: he is of opinion that the tradition of the Norwegian descent of MacLeod is not very old, and that it is not borne out by any historical authority. However, it is quite clear that the pedigree of MacLeod, as preserved by MacFirbis, is the only one ever known or received in Ireland or Scotland; but what weight it will have with Mr. Skene remains to be tried."

I most willingly respond to this call.

The work on the Highland Clans, from which Dr. O'Donovan quotes a passage, was written at a very early age, and when I was only entering upon that field of investigation which has afforded me so much pleasant occupation for so many years, but still I think that the statement there made is substantially correct. I was there referring to the supposed descent of the MacLeods from the Norwegian kings of Man and the Isles, supposed to be borne out by the Chronicle of

* The lamented death of Dr. O'Donovan took place since the above was written. EDIT.

Man, and by the inscription on the Fermanagh cup, the reading of which was quite false, and I stated that it rested upon no authority, and that the MS. genealogies referred the MacLeods to a common origin with the Campbells. I was not then aware of the pedigree given by Mac Firbis.

The statement to which Dr. O'Donovan now asks my assent is, that this "is the only one ever known or received in Ireland or Scotland."

In reply I have to state, that in one of the Irish MSS. now deposited in the Advocates' library, Edinburgh, there is a pedigree of the Campbells and of the MacLeods, referring them to a common origin from the Nemedians, through Fergus Leithdearg, who is said to have led a colony of that tribe to Scotland. These pedigrees were written about 1550, a century earlier than that of MacFirbis, and were printed by me in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.*

The Campbells or Clan Cailin are deduced from Braodn, son of Fergus Leithdearg, son of Nemedius. Then follows the pedigree of the MacLeods. The first six names have been carefully erased, probably by a partizan of one of the two great rival MacLeod families, whose claims to the chiefship were disproved by it. The rest is as follows:—

Genelach MicLeod annso.
. . . . . .
. . . . . (These six
. . . . . names
. . . . . erased.)
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Mic Leod o. r.
Mic Oloir.
Mic Oib.
Mic Oilmoir
Mic Iamhar og.
Mic Sin Iamhar.
Mic Sgoinne Sganlain.
Mic Iamhar Atacliadh.
Mic Connla.
Mic Conaill clannderg.
Mic Ceallach.
Mic Mardoid re. r. in mic L.
Mic Ceallach Catluanid.
Mic Culinan.
Mic Connla.
Mic Dergdian Sgotheg.
Mic Manuis oig.
Mic Magnus na luinge luaithe.
Mic Magnus aircon ise ro gab iiii micam in leomhar.
Mic Iamhar uallach.
Mic Dergi.
Mic Arailt.
Mic Iamhar na mBreat.
Mic Ubhaidh.
Mic Arailt.
Mic Aspuig.
Mic Ceallach.
Mic Connla.
Mic Lamus.
Mic Lungbaird.
Mic Lamus.
Mic Lochlan.
Mic Arailt.
Mic Laigh laidere or. erich L.
Mic Fergus Leithderg.

But there is still older authority for the con-

mon descent of the Campbells and the MacLeods from the Nemedians; for, in a collection of MS. genealogies written in the year 1467, there is the usual pedigree of the Milesians, and at Sru son of Esru, the father of Eber Scuit, there is the following sentence in Latin:—

7 *frater ejus Seara a quo venit Nemedius, inter posteros ejus Mc Caillin moir* 7 *mic Leoid* 7*c.*

It is therefore clear that MacFirbis's pedigree was not the only one known in Ireland or in Scotland, and I doubt much whether it could ever have been received in either country. It is a very strange genealogy. Some of the names are the same as those in the pedigree of 1550, as Iamhar, Magnus na luinge luaithe, Sin Iamhar na mBreath, but they are stated in a different order, and there is no resemblance between the other names. It consists of 39 names, which at the usual computation of three generations to a century, would give a period of thirteen hundred years, over which it ranges before it reaches Sin Iamhar na mBreath; and it contains a strange jumble of names, some evidently taken from the list of Scottish kings, as Malcolm Ceannmoir, Dolbh, Indolph, &c. It appears to me to bear evident marks of fabrication, and is more like a *jeu d'esprit* of some Senachaidhe than a pedigree seriously intended to be taken as authentic. Moreover, MacFirbis terms it the pedigree of the MacLeods of Arann in Scotland, but no such family is known in Scotland. There were two great rival families of MacLeod who contested the chiefship of the Clan Leod—the Siol Torquill or MacLeod of Lewis, who likewise possessed the district of Trotterness in Skye, and the Siol Tormod or MacLeod of Harris, who possessed Dunvegan and Waterness in Skye, and Glenelg on the Mainland; but there is no trace of any connection between either family and the Island of Arann.[a] There was in Arann an ancient family termed Foularton, who possessed a barony in the Island from the time of Robert I., and who were patronymically called MacLewis or MacLowe, and it is possible they may be the family meant, as the ninth name in the pedigree has the epithet "Leosaigh;" but this family was never held to belong to the Clan Leod, and their names do not correspond with those in the pedigree. It is plain that MacFirbis himself did not consider this as the only known or received pedigree of the MacLeods, for at page 141 of the same MS. he refers to another account of the pedigrees of the Highland Clans, which he says he found among the books of Fardoragh MacFirbis, who, he says, was a Senachaidhe well acquainted in Alban.

This account states "MacGillcoin, *an da Mac Leod*, MacCoinning, Macatoisig, Murmor huindr[b] ar Sliocht Conaire mc Eidersgeoil." The *two* MacLeods are MacLeod of Lewis, and MacLeod of Harris, and if they were of the race of Conaire MacEidersgeoil, they were not Lochlanaich.

Surely if the Clan Leod were Lochlanaich, we

[a] I suspect that by Ara here is not meant the Island of Arann in Scotland, but Harris, which is frequently written in old documents Hary, Here and Harre. Harris is the Southern part of the Island of Lewis. The pedigree, however, does not correspond with that of the MacLeods of Harris, as deduced from documentary evidence.

[b] What *huindr* is I am unable to say. The Murmor meant seems, from his juxtaposition to the MacIntoshes, to be the Murmor of Murray.

should find their pedigree composed entirely of Norwegian and Danish names; but instead of that, the names are in the main Celtic, interspersed with occasional Norwegian names such as Imhair, Magnus, Arailt, &c.; and the natural inference is that the MacLeods were a Celtic tribe who, having settled in the Western Isles while under the dominion of the Norwegians, intermarried with them and so acquired Norwegian names, and that they were only Lochlanaich by female descent.

Dr. O'Donovan comes to the same conclusion with regard to Donald, son of Emhin son of Cainnech, Murmor of Mar, who, he admits, could only have been of Danish descent by the mother's side, though MacFirbis equally includes him among the Clan Leoid of Arann. By the father's side, (Dr. O'Donovan adds,) he descended from Maine Leamhna son of Core, &c.; but in this he is inaccurate, for he descended from Cairbre Cruithneachan, the traditionary ancestor of the Eoganacht of Magh Gherginn in Scotland, now Mearns.

There is still another pedigree of the MacLeods given in the same MS., which completely bears out the view that the MacLeods were Lochlanaich by maternal descent only. It is in the pedigree of the MacLeans, p. 405, where the following passage occurs:—

Clann Cristiona ingene MicLeoid, i. Murcad.
Mac Tormoid.
Mac Leoid.
Mac Gillemuire.
Mac Raice.
Mac Olbair Snoice.
Mac Gillemuire. Ealga fholt-alainn ingean Arailt mic Semmair rig Lochlan mathair an Gillemuire sin.

The MacLeods are here taken up to a certain Gillemuire, a thoroughly Celtic name, and then it is added, "Ealga of the beautiful hair, daughter of Arailt, MacSemmair, king of Lochlain, was his mother."

It is a subject well worthy of discussion, what precise degree of credibility ought to be given to these old pedigrees when carried beyond the limits of documentary evidence. Dr O'Donovan appears to accept them as history.

I am, &c., William F. Skene.

20, Inverleith Row, Edinburgh.

P.S.—By Clann Orea, MacFirbis probably means the Oreadians.

The Clann Cruinner were the Guns or Clan Gun, a Sutherland Clan, whose chief was hereditary Coroner or Crowner of Caithness. Sir R. Gordon, in his history of Sutherland, p. 91, mentions "William Mackames wich Chruner" chief of the clan Gun, and adds, "from this Cruner all this Clan Gun are descended, and are after him called Clan Chruner."

The Clann Thorcadail were the Macquhorcadales of Phantellan, a small but ancient clan in Argyllshire.

# ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Brazen Cauldrons.—In your article on "Brazen Cauldrons" [vol v., p. 87,] you arrive at the conclusion that these peculiarly-shaped vessels of admirable workmanship were brought to Ireland by Phœnician traders. I have lately met with an evidence which, in my mind, strongly corroborates your opinion. It is well known that the primary object which the Phœnicians had in frequenting the British Islands was the procuring of tin, a metal which is found in Cornwall alone. Now it might reasonably be expected, that if these cauldrons were the manufacture of that people, we should find some vestiges of them remaining in that part of England. This in fact is the case; and I think it well to transfer to your pages the following extracts from a recently published work descriptive of the district known to have been especially resorted to by the Phœnicians, namely, the "Land's End." The author, after quoting from Diodorus Siculus a description of the place where the tin was brought by the natives for shipment, being previously melted into the form of cubes, identifies the spot with the neighbourhood of St. Michael's Mount, an insulated pyramid of rock, situated at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the ancient town of Marazion, and which is left dry by the tide for one third of the day. "At the mouth of the stream which forms the western boundary of that town, traces of a very ancient building, apparently used for both smelting and melting tin, have been discovered. In 1819, the stream having been diverted, flowed westward along the base of the adjoining sand hillock, undermining and washing away large portions. In sections thus made, I saw, at the depth of between three and six yards beneath the surface, the remains of ancient walls, rudely built of unhewn stones, with clay; and near them great quantities of ashes, charcoal, and slag, besides some ancient broken pottery of very rude manufacture, and much brick. In removing a portion of the sand within a few inches of one of the walls, my nephew (Frederic Bernard Edmonds) and myself discovered two fragments of a bronze vessel resting on charcoal, a considerable portion of which had combined with the copper during the lapse of ages, and a beautiful green substance had resulted—the carbonate of copper. The fragments are each about six inches long, four wide, and *only the sixteenth of an inch thick*, having been apparently parts of the circular top of a vessel three feet in diameter, *the mouth being bent back into a horizontal rim* three-quarters of an inch broad. No charcoal was on the insides of the fragments, but their outsides were completely blackened and covered with it." The words which I have here marked by italics shew clearly that this vessel corresponded remarkably with the one described and figured in your article. He then gives an analysis of the bronze, showing about ten per cent. of tin, and the remainder of copper with a small quantity of iron. "These very ancient ruins, therefore, with the fragments of a bronze furnace, and the abundance of ashes, charcoal, and slag, all covered with the sands of many

centuries, seem to indicate the very spot where, as Diodorus relates, the tin was cast into cubic forms, previous to its conveyance in carts to the neighbouring island during the recesses of the tide. The bronze furnace was, I conclude, brought hither by the Phœnicians, for no copper was then raised in Cornwall; and Strabo mentions that the Phœnicians furnished us with earthenware, salt, and copper or bronze utensils, in exchange for our tin, lead, and hides." He then shows from the passage in Diodorus that the tin had to undergo two different fusions, the one for extraction from the ore and purification, the other for casting it into convenient forms for exportation; and points out the curious fact that the same processes may still be seen going on at the present day, the metal being in contact with the fire in the first and not in the second: and that the *iron* furnace or vessel now in actual use for casting the metal into ingots is very nearly of the same diameter as the *bronze* one just described.—[*The Land's End District, its Antiquities, &c.*, by Richard Edmonds.] The foregoing, in conjunction with the other forcible reasons you have advanced, will go far to prove the Phœnician origin of cauldrons of the kind you have described, however incredible it might at first appear.

SENEX.

IRISH GOLD.—With reference to Mr. Windele's interesting paper on "Ancient Irish Gold and its origin," [vol. ix., page 197] I beg permission to offer these remarks. It is understood, I believe, that "gold is the first harvest of a newly-discovered country;" and we may imagine, considering the extent of granitic stone formation in Ireland, that the first explorers of her auriferous deposits were well rewarded. We must, however, receive early accounts of the abundance of gold and other wealth among the pre-historic Irish with more caution than that with which Mr. Windele accepts the *Book of Rights* as a standard for measuring the riches of the country at a very early period. When we read in the *Book*, that certain petty chieftains were entitled to certain numbers of "ships," "golden shields," &c., we incline to think that the bard who recorded these rentals either invented or vastly exaggerated them, and that the right to them and to the "ten hundred milch cows" is as fictitious as the claim in old legal pleas to "a thousand orchards," "a thousand gardens," and the like. It is notable that the author of this *Book of Rights* acknowledges, with regard to the stipends of the "Clan Oirghialla," which have a less unreal aspect than any other mentioned in the work, that they were unknown to the clan themselves. In fact, as the editor of the *Book* observes, the stipends and rentals which it enumerates are not corroborated by other accounts of Irish revenue or income. On this point, and in elucidation of the topic generally, Mr. Windele will perhaps favour us by publishing the "Rentyle of O'Connell," compiled in 1453

Pole Hore, Wexford. HERBERT F. HORE.

DELAP.—This surname is mentioned in the last of Dr. Purdon's interesting articles on *The French Settlers in Ireland*, [*antè*, vol. ix. p. 144,] as of Norman origin; but we know that in rural districts in the North of Ireland *Delap* is the oral form of the written name *Dunlop*, which is Scotch. In like manner *Jamphaly* is the oral form of *Jeffrey*: I used to be told in

Glasgow that the father of a late distinguished Professor of Anatomy there, inquired for his son under the name of "Jamie Jamphrey." Are these accidental coincidences merely, or have they tended to colour the views of the writer? Certain it is, that in various parts of the County Down, the word "Sovereign" was till lately pronounced "Suffern;" as "the *Suffern* of the Red Hill" (a nick-name), "the *Suffern* of Hillsborough." H.

Surnames.—On the line of road from Hillsborough to Moira there formerly resided three families respectively named, *Blythe*, *Joy*, and *Gay*; of which the first only remains. They were all of English origin, religion, and habits; and the ancestors of two of them had fought at Culloden under the Duke of Cumberland in 1745. There are, no doubt, other curious groups of surnames which would be worthy of a record. H.

## ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

The Downshire Family of Trotter.—R. T. at p. 258 of vol. v., asks:—"Can any of your readers inform me if the Downshire family of Trotter were among the colonists from Scotland in 1608; and if they retain the same armorial bearings as those of that name in the counties of Edinburgh and Berwick; likewise what was their origin, whether Celtic, Norman, or Saxon?" In the 1846 edition of Burke's *Landed Gentry*, the following account of their lineage is given: "This family claims to derive from Alexander Ruthven, a scion of the great and ennobled Scottish house of Gowrie,[a] who being at Perth when the Earl of Gowrie, his kinsman and chief, was slain, was involved in the ruin of his family, and in 1602 fled to England, where he settled himself in the Co. Durham, assuming his wife's surname, that of Trotter. Here, on the banks of the Skerne, he purchased lands, and erected a residence, which still retains the name of Trotter. He died in 1621, leaving a son, James Trotter, Esq., who married Anne Hylton of Preskrigg, grand-daughter of Sir Adam Hylton, of Hylton Castle, Co. Durham, and died in 1637, having had three sons, Alexander, John, and James. The second son, John Trotter, born in 1619,

[a] The Earldom of Gowrie ended with the unfortunate Earl, John Ruthven, who was slain in his own castle of Perth, with his brother Alexander, on the 5th of August, 1600, in a disturbance that fell out there, in which they and their kindred were accused of attempting the life of King James the VI.; and in consequence, at a Parliament holden in Edinburgh on the 6th of November in the same year, they were attainted, and forfaulted their lives, lands, and honours, and the surname of Ruthven was expressly discharged and abolished for ever. In a postscript to Mr. G. P. R. James's beautiful historical romance of *Gowrie or the King's Plot*, he says: "The question is, whether the young Earl of Gowrie and his brother laid a plot for entrapping James VI., king of Scotland, to their house at Perth, for the purpose of murdering him, the king escaping by a miracle, and causing them to be slain in return; or whether he laid a plot of surprising them in their house, under the appearance of a friendly visit, and by a pre-arranged plan murdered them in their own dwelling. I have maintained, as the reader has seen, and ever shall maintain, that the latter was the case."

who was bred to the profession of medicine, married Jane Wilson, daughter of a clergyman at Auckland, and thereby so displeased his elder brother that a sudden dispute arose, in which Alexander received a hurt, from which he died soon after. John fled to the Isle of Man, and thence with his wife and an infant son, Samuel, born in 1668, went over to Ireland to Mourne, where he died in 1680."—[Burke's *Landed Gentry*, p. 1436.] The above-named Samuel Trotter married Mary Allen of Dundrum, and died at Downpatrick in 1723, leaving a son, John Trotter, who married Anne Savage, daughter of Major Savage of the Ards, in 1727, and died at Downpatrick in 1771. Their eldest son, Edward Trotter, who was born in 1729, married Mary Dickson, daughter of The Very Rev. James Dickson, Dean of Down, and died in St. James's Parish, London, in 1777, leaving three sons and a daughter. Edward Southwell Trotter, the eldest son,[b] was born on 3rd November, 1773, and in 1794 married Maria Price, only daughter of Kenneth Alexander Price, Esq. of Saintfield, Co. Down, and died in London on the 31st of March, 1836,[c] M.P. for the city of Dublin, having previously sat in the Imperial Parliament as member for the borough of Downpatrick. His body was brought over from London, and received a public funeral from his constituents, who erected a splendid monument to his memory in Glasnevin cemetery, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. On the 16th of January, 1801, he received a royal license, which after reciting that his ancestors bore the surname of Ruthven, and were descended from the ancient family of that name, seated in the shire of Perth, North Britain, authorised him and his issue to assume and take the surname of Ruthven only, which he accordingly did, and was thereafter called and known as Edward Southwell Ruthven, and his family have altogether dropped the name of Trotter, and are now known only by the name of Ruthven. In 1805, a further royal license was granted to him to assume the arms of Ruthven, with supporters, which are very similar to the coat of arms of the last Earl of Gowrie, engraved on an ancient seal of his, and which has been preserved in this family. The stone, which is of red cornelian, is beautiful engraved, by some process not now known, and bears the following inscription on the back:—*Paget, Sculpt., Paris*, 1591. T.K.L.

"An East rain," &c., [vol. ix., 78, 149.]—Your correspondent Weather-wise seems prodigal of his philosophy in explanation of this saying. The truth is there are many couplets which have more rhyme than reason; as "*When the wind's in the west, the cuckoo's on her nest;*" "*A haw year is a braw year.*" Many of these are indebted to schoolboys for what they have of both poetry and sense, and are not burdened

[b] John Bernard Trotter, the second son, who was a barrister, became private secretary to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and wrote memoirs of the latter years of his life. He was also the author of *Walks through Ireland in* 1812, 1814, *and* 1817, *described in a Series of Letters to an English Gentleman*, and of several other popular works.

[c] He left three sons. 1st, Edward, sometime M.P. for Co. Kildare, and still alive, who married Cecilia, daughter of the late Dr. Crampton of the City of Dublin, by whom he has no issue. 2nd, Kenneth, who died unmarried. 3rd, Charles William, who married Jane, daughter of John Lowry, Esq., of Ballytrim House, Co. Down, and died in 1861, leaving two sons and four daughters.

with much of either. The one in question I take to be one of this kind. Dean Swift was very fond of extemporising proverbs as if he had been quoting them, and sometimes he hit them off very well. In the garden of a friend he felt tempted to taste the fruit, and justified himself by the appropriate remark, "When in reach pull a peach." On another occasion, when, as a countryman of mine would say, "he lost his feet and dhrapped on his posternities on the dung'ill," he avoided the laugh of the observers by saying, "The more dirt the less hurt!" CIVIS.

POMEROY, [vol. ix., 243.]—The name Pomeroy in Devonshire was given by one of the followers of the Conqueror, who erected, or at least occupied the castle of Berry, whose ruins are still standing. The parish is therefore known as *Berry Pomeroy*. It is not unlikely that Pomeroy in Tyrone was named from some member of the same family at a period preceding the seventeenth century; for the place possessed that name when it was granted to the Rev. W. Lowry, ancestor of the present proprietor. LEWIS.

JAUNTING-CARS [vol. ix., 78, 149.]—AURIGA is right. The Irish jaunting-car is modern, like good roads: it is literally a "spoke-wheeled car" on springs, so that the stages of its manufacture are easily traced. I remember well the first time I ever saw one. It allowed of trotting or "jaunting" without shaking the occupant to pieces. The "well" and the "flirting cushion" which now covers it are more modern still. An "inside-car" was at first known as a "sociable," because the parties sat face to face and conversed.

PEDESTRIAN.

## QUERIES.

SHAMROCK.—Since the shamrock is the emblem of the Trinity, and therefore perfect as *tre*-foil, why is there a superstitious value attached to the four-leaved shamrock, or *quatre*-foil?

TRIA JUNCTA IN UNO.

CHRISTMAS.—What is the exact date at which the green branches used as decorations at Christmas (the holly, ivy, &c.) ought properly to be removed? Is it on Shrove Tuesday, to fry the first pancake? YULE.

CURFEW.—Was the actual curfew-vessel (*covre-feu*) ever in use in Ireland as a protection in inflammable houses? Is there such a thing in any antiquary's collection? Or, is the curfew-*bell* known any where in Ireland? D. C. L.

CHRISTENING.—I lately saw, in a French work, a statement that in Ireland a superstitious feeling prevents the people from christening a child by the name of any of its living relatives, from the dread of shortening the life of that relative. The author quotes, likewise, from the *Œuvres de La Mothe le Vayer*, tom. x., p. 267, Paris, 1669, the following singular Irish superstition with regard to the same subject:—"Quand une femme grosse est marraine, on croit qu'une mort prompte menace l'enfant qu'elle doit mettre

au monde, ou celui qu'elle nomme en le présentant au baptême." Is this superstition still existing in any part of Ireland? I never heard of it. But with regard to the one first mentioned, it may perhaps account for the very general practice of christening a child, not by the name of the father or mother, but by that of the grandfather or grandmother. SENEX.

MAY-DAY.—Were the celebrations of May-eve kept up this year, and in what parts of the country? Were any Beltane-fires lighted? Has any one seen the old custom observed of throwing the bones of horses and other animals into these, making them literally *bone*-fires, not *bon*-fires. Was the May-dew gathered any where? What is usually done with the May-flowers gathered on May-eve? Is the rowan-tree still stuck in the thatch to prevent the house from being bewitched; and why is this tree specially employed? D. C. L.

END OF VOLUME IX.

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# OLD BANGOR ROADS.

## MYSTERY OF BALLYHOLME.

### The "Old" Bridge in the Bay.

By ALEX. MILLIGAN.

During the autumn of 1926 I had the privilege of addressing through the columns of the "Whig" what I found to be a very numerous company indeed of Ramblers and others interested in the old roads about Bangor. On looking over my cuttings scrap book recently it was borne in on me forcibly that in parts I had fallen short even of my own standard of clearness, and it also occurred to me, as regards at least one section of the roads, that a good deal might have been added without exhausting the interest in the subject and which just possibly might have rendered their assimilation easier.

As a means to both these ends I will begin by drawing attention to an interesting fact—to some it may even prove startling—disclosed by an inspection of the 1833 Ordnance Survey map. So late as the year mentioned, and probably for many years after, the normal and in fact the only direct road then existing between Bangor and Groomsport was along the south shore of Ballyholme Bay. The approach to this, then as it was, was by the well-known Ballyholme road originating at the top or east end of old Ballymacrea Street, but instead of the road ending as it does now at the east end of Ballyholme it continued over the bridge (now the "ruined" bridge) more or less north-eastward until it came almost alongside the southern aspect of Glengannagh House. From hereabout the old road into Groomsport and the present one (to which I will presently refer) are, as the lawyers say, "one and the same and not different." I shall hereafter refer to the road I have just described as the old or shore road to Groomsport.

The new road branches off the "high" road to Donaghadee about half a mile east of and in the same north-easterly direction as the old one. It approaches to within two hundred yards of its predecessor at Ballyholme Esplanade, which it passes considerably to the south, whereas the old road passes on the north. The two converge as they approach Glengannagh (that is, they would appear to do so, if the old road were restored), and they actually joined in the immediate vicinity of that charming residence—on its south side. As a result of the convergence a narrow triangular strip of land was added to the grounds of the house, thus making them rectangular, as they are now. Some traces of the old road are for this reason still to be seen inside the grounds as so enlarged, thus giving the erroneous impression that the road at one time had passed through them.

Now, as to the date of this new road. I can only say that it does not appear on the Ordnance Survey map of 1833, but it does appear on that of 1860, so that its construction must date from some period inside that interval. As regards the old road I have no information whatever, except I have never seen a map purporting to show roads in any detail that did not show it. One fact may be noted—the development of Ballyholme as a residential quarter only began after the making of the new road, and this, I submit, was the probable object of the undertaking.

But to revert to the old road, with its now ruined bridge. I think it will surprise a good many to learn that these were functioning as a fully going concern so late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the old bridge especially being usually regarded as a remnant of considerable antiquity. The Ordnance Survey map of 1833, however, is evidence which cannot be gainsaid. Another fact disclosed by the same map is that the land margin or shore line of Ballyholme Bay at the present time coincides, to all practical intents and purposes, with that of 1833. There is a widely held view that since the time when the old road with its bridge was in common use the sea hereabout has made considerable encroachments on the land, that, in fact, if the old road was restored today its course would appear to be, say, midway between high and low water marks.

Now, I am very far from being expert in map measurement, but so far as I can judge from rough measurement with a pair of compasses there is little, if any, ground for such an opinion. In fact, I am inclined to think that the present "Esplanade" practically coincides, so far as it goes, with the old road. That there may have been a subsidence of land hereabout at a much earlier date is not improbable; but no appreciable change has taken place apparently since 1833.

The fact that the present Groomsport road turns out to be of nineteenth-century construction—that is, between Glengannagh and its junction with the Donaghadee "high" road near Bangor—bars the possibility of its forming any part of Schomberg's route, as is implied in a certain tradition mentioned in the 1926 correspondence. The same fact increases the difficulty of suggesting any other route from the neighbourhood of Ballyholme to Newtownards except via Bangor and Conlig. A retrograde detour by the ancient "Broadway," or Broad Lane, was no doubt possible from Bangor, and roads of a sort there probably were between Groomsport and Bangor connecting with this Broadway; but it is difficult to imagine such roads being used by a military force. Whether Schomberg availed himself of any of them is, I fear, now futile to conjecture, but that a considerable force accompanied the General to Newtownards there can be no doubt.

It was in dealing with this topic in the former discussion that the date (uncertain) of the inland or "high" road to Donaghadee casually cropped up. I think we would not be far astray in assigning this road to the middle of the eighteenth century. It does not appear on Harris's map of 1744 (History of County Down), which is exhaustive in the matter of main roads, but it does appear on Taylor and Skinner's road maps, surveyed 1776, and in other maps round about the latter date. On Taylor's map it appears as part of an alternative route for post chaises from Belfast to Donaghadee, the other route being via Newtownards and the well-known "Six-Road-Ends" (near Bangor). It is interesting to note that the latter was the shorter course by over a mile.

Before the making of the "high" road, the old road along Ballyholme shore must have borne all the traffic between Bangor and Donaghadee; but just beyond the now ruined bridge this traffic was shared with another main road. The road that led through Groomsport was probably the older, and its course thence, until it reached the vicinity of Portavoe, changed with the lapse of time. Suffice it to say—and it is all that I am in a position to say at present—that it reached and got round (or got over) "The Orlock" somehow, and thence along the shore south-eastward to Donaghadee. It is not improbable that there were two roads by which Orlock Head was negotiated: one round it and one over it, and that between the headland and Groomsport there was an earlier road, seaward of the present one, "may be seen of all men" who care to examine the ground hereabout.

Let us now hark back once more to the old road by Ballyholme shore. The road is no longer there, but I have indicated its course:—From the old bridge it ran about north-east by east. Some three hundred yards or so from the bridge in the direction named one of the principal roads in these parts branched in an easterly direction. The exact line may be inferred when I say that to-day it would pass just outside the south-west corner of the residence known as "The Banks," and thereafter almost due east to a point on the Donaghadee shore road, just outside and south-east of the present Portavoe demesne—say four miles, including windings. This is the road I alluded to above as sharing with the Groomsport-Orlock line the eastward traffic from Bangor. I shall call it the old Portavoe road, and with some further remarks thereon, mainly with a view to its identification, I will conclude this article. I wish the reader now to place himself on the present road to Groomsport in such wise that the Ballymaconnell road will appear on his right hand, and on his left the avenue running northward past "The Banks." Parenthetically I may point out that till long after 1832 this avenue was an integral portion of, and unsundered from, the Ballymaconnell road. When placed as I have stipulated the observer will be looking north-east, and the old Portavoe road would, if restored, pass him about a hundred yards on the north or left-hand side—i.e., at the south-west corner of "The Banks." Its direction, from near the old bridge, throughout the field of our observations, would be, generally, west to east, and it would cross the Groomsport road about a hundred yards in front of the observer. But where is this road to-day? The answer to this question is simple, but to explain why it is just where it is, that is, its present sequestration, is another and a more difficult matter. Let the position of the observer remain as before. About two hundred yards in front of him, towards Groomsport, a lane turns off on the right-hand or south side of the main road; direction, south-east. For about four hundred yards inland this lane coincides with the boundary between Ballymaconnell and Ballymacormick townlands. I will, therefore, call it Boundary Lane. At the distance named (inland) this lane inclines more to the east, and when it has developed into a distinctly eastward line we are then

for the first time definitely on the old Portavoe road, as shown on the map accompanying Harris's History of County Down, published in 1744. It is also shown on the map that forms page 243 of Mr. Stevenson's "Two Centuries of Life in Down." In the latter, however, there is a "double knee" shown in its mid-course, which was probably caused by changes on the Portavoe estate. The last-mentioned map is probably that of 1767.

When the Ballymaconnell road was made—probably early in the nineteenth century—it cut across the old Portavoe road, as has been said, at a point adjacent to "The Banks," and the newly made road being the easier for traffic—as I suppose—it was used also (from this intersection to its northern extremity) for the traffic till then conveyed by the much older Portvoe road. The result was that the bridge-ward terminal length of the last-named was abandoned and in time disappeared. Thus it came about that for many years it was the Ballymaconnell road only that communicated with the old Ballyholme road, and that by means of "The Banks" avenue. This is the condition of things shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1832, where the old Portavoe road is shown as ending on the Ballymaconnell road instead of continuing its original north-westerly course to the bridge.

The latest, but probably not the last, change took place towards the middle of last century, when the present road to Groomsport was made. It was then that what I have called Boundary Lane was first made, and it was made for the purpose of connecting the old Portavoe road with the newly-finished Groomsport road. This end being accomplished, that part of the Portavoe road that lay between the inland or south-east end of Boundary Lane and the Ballymaconnell road (see above) was demolished, and so we have the aspect of things as they are to-day. From its junction with Boundary Lane the old Portavoe road runs eastward for over a mile as an unpaved lane until it strikes a comparatively modern road between Groomsport and the well-known cross roads at Ballyminetragh on the high road to Donaghadee. Eastward of its junction with this road its course can now be only surmised, but there is every reason to believe that about the last half-mile or so of the road ending on the coast road immediately south-east of Portavoe demesne is a remnant of this ancient highway.

"Glengannagh" and "The Banks" (formerly Banks Cottage) have been names of frequent occurrence in the foregoing. The earliest reference to the first is on the O.S. map of 1833; later it is mentioned as the residence of a certain Dowager Lady Dufferin. This was, I believe, Anne Dorothea (d. 1865), widow of James Stevenson Blackwood, second baron, who died in 1836. But had it been built by (or for) the latter, or was it afterwards acquired for his widow? I should like to know who was the original proprietor. "The Banks" has been its near neighbour for a century now. Might either of these have been the Ballymacormick House (John Agnew's), frequently referred to from 1814 to 1825?

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN WHIG

Sir,—I notice that Mr. Alex. Milligan in his recent article on the above subject quotes Taylor and Skinner's road maps of Ireland. In a work entitled "The Traveller's Guide to Ireland," published about 1812, numerous maps, evidently based on those of Taylor and Skinner, appear. Common to both is a map showing the road from Belfast to Bangor via Crawfordsburn, and also the present road from Dundonald via Dunlady House and Ballyleidy (Clandeboye) to Bangor. From the latter road two connecting branch roads lead down in a northerly direction to the former. Proceeding from Dundonald I estimate that the first of these two branches originated about midway between Craigauntlet and Clandeboye Demesne, and made contact with the Belfast to Bangor road at Crawfordsburn village. The second branch originated less than a mile further eastward, but yet on the south-west (or Craigauntlet) side of Clandeboye, joining the same road just west of Ballywooley House.

I wonder could Mr. Milligan or any other interested correspondent say if either of these branch roads, or any portion of them, survive, and, if so, how they may be identified. Notwithstanding prolonged, but I hope patient, investigation I find myself as yet unable to decide. Both the works named above may be consulted either at the Linen Hall Library or the Public Library, Royal Avenue.—Yours, &c.,

BALLYLEIDY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN WHIG.

Sir,—Your correspondent "Ballyleidy" raises a difficult question when he seeks information about the two parallel roads shown on Taylor and Skinner's maps of about 1780, both apparently originating between Craigauntlet and Clandeboye Demesne, on the road from Dundonald to Bangor. These two roads, as shown at that date—and they reappear in the "New Traveller's Guide" published in 1815—look to be about a mile apart, the more easterly one being yet just west of the above-named demesne; both connect with the old post road

through Crawfordsburn, and the direction of both is approximately north. Several considerations must be borne in mind in this matter—e.g., (1) Probably no other part of the county has undergone so many changes in its roads as this very locality; (2) many of these maps are out of drawing, as the result of the effort to make contours, &c., clear in a too limited space; (3) what appear to be the originating points of branches are in reality cross-roads (apparently the complementary parts suppressed are not supposed to interest the "traveller"); (4) the orientation of each map is different, and must be separately and independently adjusted.

Now if "Ballyleidy" and others will bear with me I will state briefly the conclusions I have arrived at so far as regards these two old roads.

Consider for a moment the point where, in driving from Holywood to Crawfordsburn, one turns to the left (north) to reach Crawfordsburn. The alternative and most frequently travelled road to Bangor leads straight on past the Presbyterian Church of Ballygilbert, to Clandeboye. I shall call this last the Ballygilbert road. Beyond the church (eastward) the road crosses the Dufferin Drive, and some two hundred yards still further east (or south-east) is a narrow lane making a straight line for the old road into Crawfordsburn, which it strikes a few yards to the south of Ballymullan National School. Note that, where is the present road sweeps round a curve (to avoid the hill on which the school is situate) and enters the village from the south-west, the old road "takes the hill" and enters from another direction. Now a close scrutiny of Taylor's map (page 6) shows that the branch remote from Clandeboye—and nearer Craigauntlet—entered Crawfordsburn at the same point and from the same direction as this lane does to-day—or did some years ago, when I examined it on the spot—and I am disposed to be confident that this old lane is the terminal northerly reach of Taylor's western branch.

But where did it originate on the Dundonald-Bangor road, and what was its course thither from where we "pick it up" on the Ballygilbert road? I suggest the following:—Six hundred yards or so eastward, on the south side of the last-named road, is a lane running southward which after crossing the Dufferin Drive strikes the Dundonald road where there used to be a schoolhouse (on the north side) with a farmhouse opposite, and east of the farmhouse a lane which appears to connect in a meandering south-easterly line with the ancient road from Newtownards through Tullynagardy and Ballyskeagh. This connection if borne out by further investigation would yield, if I might so put it, a continuous road from Newtownards to Crawfordsburn, a consideration which in itself would strengthen the surmise here submitted, for these two ancient roads which here approached each other so closely were very likely connected up. I should have added above that the 600 yards interval on the Ballygilbert road is assumed to be common to it and the old road under notice into Crawfordsburn. Between the Dundonald and Ballygilbert roads there is a connection parallel with the one I have described, and to the south of it this connection—now somewhat interrupted—may possibly represent the initial reach of Taylor's western branch.

Now, as to the eastern branch—namely, that from just west of Ballyleidy House and emerging apparently just west of Ballywilley (or Ballywooley) House. I have no doubt that the last-mentioned feature is due simply to defective drawing, as already alluded to. This branch ought to have been shown as terminating just east of Crawfordsburn, and not nearly so close to Jackson's, of Ballywooley. True, there is an undoubted old road just west of the Jackson residence, but this was, and still remains, the avenue to the house. Beyond the house the avenue merged into their private way of access to Bangor old moss—I ought to say that the new house occupies the site of the old—which belonged to the early eighteenth century. To revert, however, to the branch now under notice. If its relationship had been fully presented on the maps referred to, it would have been shown on the northward continuation of the old road from Newtownards to Crawfordsburn, and pretty much as at present. The making of at least four new roads, however, and the incidental alterations arising from the joining up of these with those of the eighteenth century have undoubtedly obscured many of the old-time features of this locality—such, that is, as met the eyes of those engaged in the survey of 1776 for the making of Taylor and Skinner's maps.—Yours, &c.,

ALEX. MILLIGAN.

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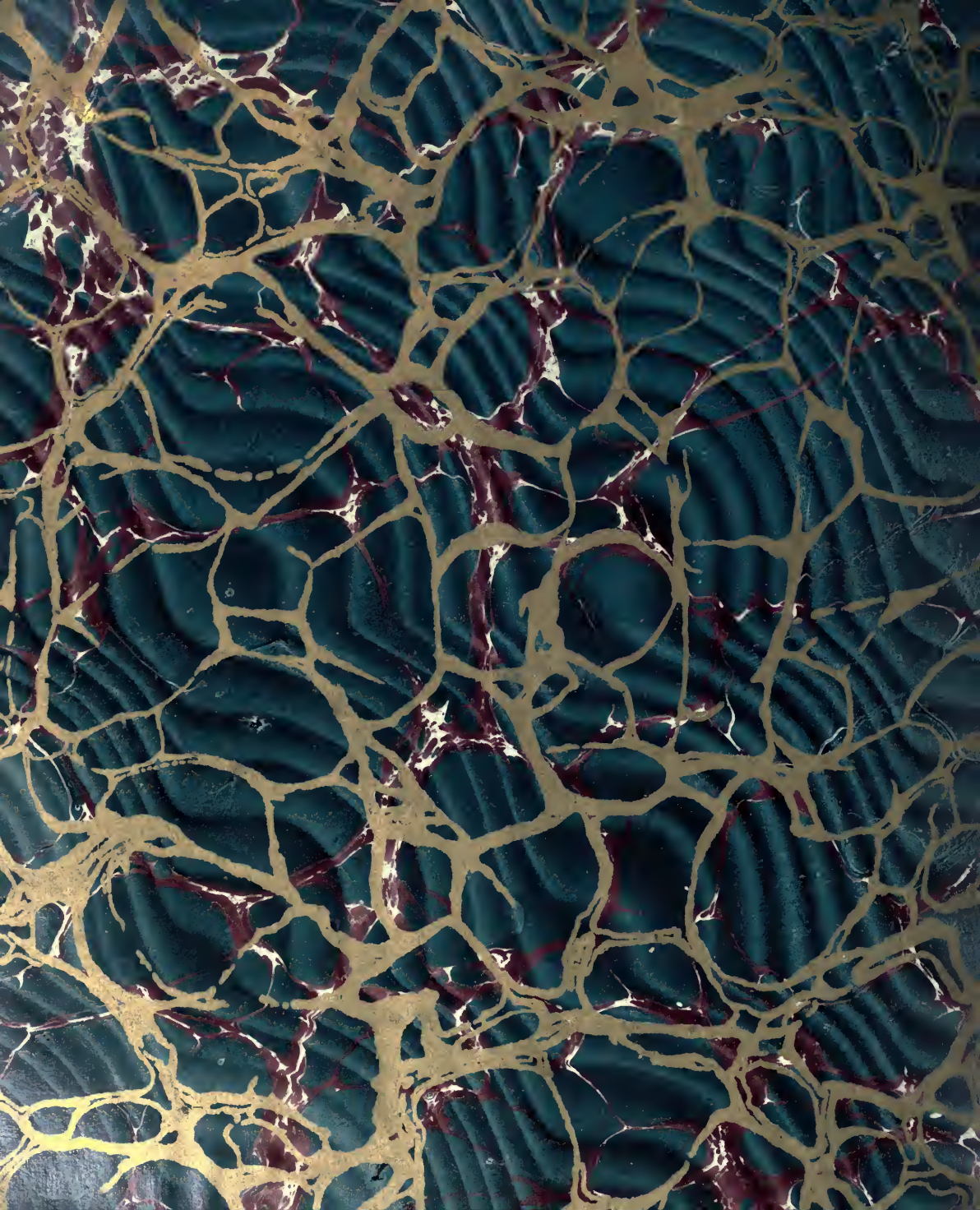

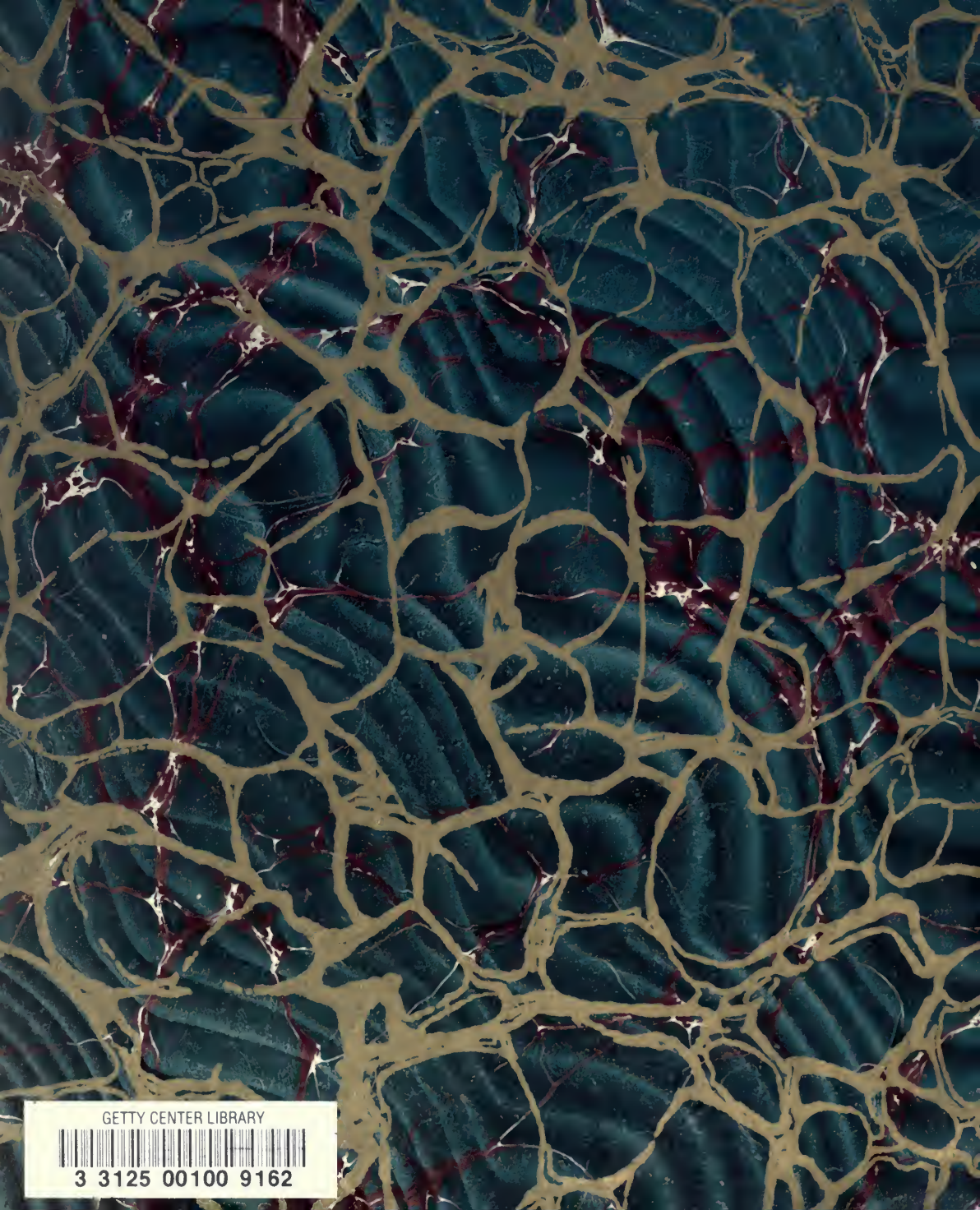
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